

**THE LIFE OF ST IRENE
ABBESS OF CHRYSOBALANTON**

**A Critical Edition with Introduction,
Translation, Notes and Indices**

by
Jan Olof Rosenqvist

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Critical edition of *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*³ No. 952. This *Vita*, which describes the life of a fictitious abbess in Constantinople in the 9th c., was probably written towards the end of the 10th c. The Introduction presents an interpretation according to which the author was a woman writing under the influence of a family tragedy compelling her to retire to the convent of Chrysobalanton. In a historical disguise this story is reflected in the *Vita*, embedded in traditional but often originally designed hagiographic and legendary material.—Includes indices.

In memory of my mother and father

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Preface to the *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*

Classical scholars in Sweden have long contributed to the study of Byzantium. A glance at the back cover of the *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* shows that of the first eight volumes of this series no fewer than five were devoted to Byzantine philology and a sixth to the related topic of early Modern Greek literature. However, Byzantine studies were not recognized as an independent subject in this country until 1980, when a Professor of Byzantine Studies was appointed by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR). In the following year a Byzantine section was organized within the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Uppsala, financed by the HSFR and focusing on research rather than teaching. The initiation of a particular Byzantine series of publications is the natural outcome of this development.

Thanks to the Bollandists, who have paved the way, much fruitful work can be done within the area of Byzantine hagiography. The first volumes of the new series will be devoted to this topic. The present edition of an intriguing piece of Middle Byzantine hagiography, prepared by my assistant, will be followed by critical studies and editions of the Lives of Andreas Salos, the Empress Theophano, Niketas of Medikion and Philaretos the Merciful, and of some of the texts concerning Eugenios of Trebizond. These texts have been chosen for their literary value and general interest rather than the importance of the saints described in them. In addition to works on these special subjects a general history of Byzantine hagiography in the ninth and tenth centuries is also planned.

It is not my intention, however, to give the *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* an exclusively hagiographical character. The series will also be open to other branches of Byzantine research. Thus one or two volumes on Greek in Nubia AD 300 to 1400 by T. Hägg and a critical edition of the *Florilegium Baroccianum* by J.F. Kindstrand are in preparation.

I wish to thank the HSFR for supporting Byzantine studies in Sweden and the *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* for including a Byzantine series in their publishing programme.

Lennart Rydén

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Foreword

Sometimes, perhaps surprisingly often, Byzantine hagiography is worth reading for its literary merits. This fact has mostly been overlooked. Indeed, these texts have seldom been approached from the point of view of literary criticism at all, although the genre includes examples for which such an approach seems more justified than any other. The best known case is probably the *Life of St Philaretos the Merciful* whereas the text edited here, the *Life of St Irene of Chrysobalanton*, is certainly one of the least known examples. To show that it is one at all has been a major concern in my work with this edition.

The relevance of the 'literary' approach for the study of this *Vita* was stressed by the initiator of this book, Professor Lennart Rydén. When I was given the opportunity to join the recently established Section for Byzantine Studies in Uppsala as his assistant, he proposed a critical edition and study of the *Life of Irene* as a desideratum in Byzantine philology and a rewarding task for a researcher. During the following years of work with the *Vita* Professor Rydén continued to be just that encouraging and perspicacious critic I needed. For his generous support I wish to thank him sincerely.

Special thanks are due to the Bollandist society in Brussels. Their help made it possible to start this project in the conviction that it was not being planned or performed elsewhere.

J. O. R.

Abbreviations

This list includes periodicals, secondary literature, and reference works. For titles of texts, the abbreviations will be found in the Index of Quotations, Reminiscences and Parallels.

<i>ActaSS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
<i>AnalBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>BHG</i> ³	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 ^e éd. par F. Halkin (Brussels, 1957); with <i>Novum Auctarium</i> (Brussels, 1984)
<i>BNJbb</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BSI</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>ByzF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EEBS</i>	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
Ehrhard	A. Ehrhard, <i>Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1937—1952) (TU 50—52)
<i>EO</i>	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
Frisk	Hj. Frisk, <i>Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1960—1972)
Gedeon, <i>BE</i>	M.I. Gedeon, <i>Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον</i> (Constantinople, 1899)
<i>GOTR</i>	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
<i>IRAIK</i>	<i>Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
Janin, <i>Siège de Cple</i>	R. Janin, <i>La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin</i> . I, <i>Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique</i> . III, <i>Les églises et les monastères</i> (Paris, ² 1969)
Janin, <i>Grands centres</i>	id., <i>Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins</i> (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique) (Paris, 1975)
Kazhdan, <i>People and Power</i>	A. Kazhdan & G. Constable, <i>People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies</i> (Washington D.C., 1982)

Lampe	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. by G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961)
Lampros	S.P. Lampros, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1895. 1900)
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , compiled by H.G. Liddell & R. Scott. A new ed., revised and augmented throughout by H.S. Jones (Oxford, 1940); <i>A Supplement</i> . Ed. by E.A. Barber (Oxford, 1968)
MASP	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg</i>
OC(P)	<i>Orientalia Christiana (Periodica)</i>
Oikonomidès, Listes	N. Oikonomidès, <i>Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles</i> (Paris, 1972)
Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir'	E. Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir', in <i>The Byzantine Saint</i> . University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, ed. by S. Hackel (London, 1981), 88—105
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> . Series graeca, ed. J.P. Migne
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
RESEE	<i>Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
Rydén, Symeon Salos	L. Rydén, <i>Das Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis</i> (Uppsala, 1963)
Rydén, Bemerkungen	id., <i>Bemerkungen zum Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis</i> (Uppsala, 1970)
Sophocles	E.A. Sophocles, <i>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1887)
SubsHag	<i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i>
Talbot, 'Bluestocking Nuns'	A.-M. M. Talbot, 'Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium', <i>Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students</i> = <i>Harvard Ukrainian Studies</i> , 7 (1983), 604—618
TGL	<i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. The Document

To say that the *Life of St Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (BHG³ 952; henceforth *VI*) has never been seriously studied would be only a slight exaggeration. Comments have been made on details, generally considered in isolation from their context,¹ and a couple of overall remarks have been offered² since I. Pinius wrote his *commentarius praeuius* introducing the *Acta Sanctorum* edition of 1729 (cf. Chapter II, section 2, *infra*). But some basic questions have hardly ever been posed: Who was the otherwise unknown Irene? When was her *Life* composed? Why and under what circumstances was it written, and by whom? The following attempt to answer these questions will in part be highly tentative or even speculative. That such an attempt is made will be justified, it is hoped, by the unusual qualities of this *Vita*. Let us begin by summarizing its content.

¹ References will be made throughout the following discussion and in notes on the text. It would not be worthwhile to collect this scanty material into a *VI* bibliography.—General, sometimes faulty information on St Irene and her *Life* is found in some reference works; cf. *Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier, avec l'histoire des fêtes*, 7 (Paris, 1949), 675; *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 7 (Rome, 1966), 885 f.; *Θρησκευτική και ήθική έγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 5 (Athens, 1964), 446; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 570.

² Notably by E. Patlagean, 'L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance', *Studi Medievali*, 3. ser., 17 (1976), 597—623, esp. 619 f. For the date, cf. *ibid.*, 613 ('après l'avènement de Basile I^{er} (867—886)'), and the similar suggestion by the same author in 'Sainteté et pouvoir', 91. A rather depreciatory verdict on *VI* was given recently by D. De F. Abrahamse, 'Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period: Problems and Prospects', *ByzF*, 9 (1985), 35—58, esp. 47. Cf. the positive judgment by K.M. Ringrose in her unpublished dissertation *Saints, Holy Men and Byzantine Society*, 726—843 (submitted 1976, at Rutgers University), p. 25.

1. Summary of the Content

VI opens with a rhetorically elaborate description of the situation before the Triumph of Orthodoxy: The death of the Emperor Theophilos has sealed the defeat of the iconoclastic heresy. His own wife, the widowed Empress Theodora, is the one to promote Orthodoxy. Like the Empress Irene, who summoned the Council of Nicaea in 787, she convenes a synod which restores the veneration of icons and inaugurates the celebration of the Sunday of Orthodoxy [1.]. Theodora does not remain indifferent to the fate of her husband's soul; therefore she beseeches the Fathers participating in the synod to intercede with God for him. This they do, and the success of their prayer is confirmed by a miracle: Theophilos's name is inscribed in a document along with the names of other Iconoclasts, and this document is deposited on the altar of St Sophia to remain there as long as the prayers are offered. When it is inspected, the name of Theophilos appears to be deleted, and this confirms that the Emperor has been acquitted of heresy [2.].

Theodora resolves to marry her son Michael to a worthy wife, and to this end arranges a bride-show to assemble outstanding women from all parts of the Empire to the capital. Among these women there are two sisters from Cappadocia. One is called Irene while the other will remain anonymous; she is later to be the wife of the Caesar Bardas. Passing by Mount Olympos in Bithynia the pious Irene wishes to visit the famous hermit Ioannikios and is escorted up to him. The Saint, already knowing her name, greets her as the future abbess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton in Constantinople. Arriving in the capital she is received as a princess by her relatives, the wealthy and influential patrician family of Gouber. But the Emperor has already chosen another woman for his wife. Proposals of marriage from other nobles are rejected by Irene, for whom Christ alone suffices as a bride-groom [3.].

Searching for a place in the city which would be suitable for her future life as a nun, Irene remembers the prediction of St Ioannikios about Chrysobalanton. She finds that the convent is situated in a beautiful and quiet part of the city and is inhabited by nuns after being a male monastery in pre-iconoclastic times. Bringing her possessions with her she enters religion there [4.]. She soon proves an excellent nun, willingly submitting to her abbess and humbly serving the other nuns. Among the pious books she reads is the Life of St Arsenios, and with the hesitating consent of the abbess she soon begins to imitate the hard ascetic exercises pursued by him, especially his night-long standing prayers [5.]. Three years of successful ascetic practice arouse the Devil's envy against Irene. He tempts her by reminding her of the glorious and luxurious life she previously led, he insults

and threatens her, but with intense prayer she wards off his assault. After this victory God makes her inaccessible to the Devil's attacks, gives her power against demons, and proves her to be a good spiritual guide for other people. Her increasing fame attracts many aristocratic women to Chrysobalanton [6.].

On her deathbed, while the nuns bewail the loss of an exemplary leader, the abbess designates Irene as her successor. Knowing that she would hardly accept such an honourable position, the nuns go together to the Patriarch Methodios to let him decide. Much against her will Irene is in their company. Methodios, who has miraculous foreknowledge of their choice, ordains her deaconess and abbess in a simple ceremony [7.]. When she has assumed the leadership of the convent, Irene's humility only deepens. After a prayer for God's help she admonishes herself about her new great responsibilities, and returns to her ascetic practices. In a long speech to the nuns she instructs them about monastic virtues: lack of possessions, purity and holiness, humility, contrition, and freedom from passion, and her advice falls in good ground [8.].

In order better to perform her duties as a spiritual leader Irene prays to God for the ability to read men's hearts. The gift is confirmed by the vision of an angel who in future will reveal any secret acts to her. A demonstration of this ability before the nuns deeply impresses them [9.]. Her fame spreads all over the city. The great number of people, especially women from senatorial families, who gather around her convent, are supported by her spiritual and moral advice [10.].

Irene's continued ascetic success does not fail to revive the Devil's envy. She is attacked by a horde of his demons, whose insults do not, however, succeed in distracting her from her exercises. One of them sets fire to her clothes, but this cannot affect her. When one of the nuns hastens to quench the fire, she is only reproached by her abbess who had hoped to win a martyr's crown [11.].

The eunuch Cyril, a servant of Irene's sister, visits Chrysobalanton. Irene asks him to inform his mistress about two imminent events of which she has prophetic knowledge: the murders of the Caesar Bardas, her sister's husband, and the Emperor Michael. Defying a command of Irene, the sister tells Bardas about the prediction. Unable to understand it as a warning to mend his ways in order to avoid his predicted fate, he tries eagerly to prevail upon Irene to name the future emperor, but in vain. Her prediction comes true: Bardas and Michael are killed and Basil the Macedonian is made emperor, founding a dynasty whose power lasted for four or five generations [12.].

A young noblewoman from Cappadocia has recently entered the

sisterhood of Chrysobalanton, leaving her suitor at home in distress. In his desperation he visits a local sorcerer who promises to help him. As a result of his sorcery the young nun in Constantinople loses self-control and reveals in a shocking way that she is still in love with the man. When she tries to escape from the convent, Irene takes action. Interpreting the situation as an effect of demonic possession, she exhorts the other nuns to fast and pray for their sister. After three days of supplication she has a vision of St Basil the Great, her compatriot, who tells her to take the Cappadocian girl to the Church of Blachernai to be healed by the Virgin. Accompanied by two other nuns she arrives at the church with the possessed girl. At midnight she has a vision of the Virgin walking in procession from the Great Church of Blachernai to the chapel of the Holy *Soros* and visiting the sick who lie waiting for her to heal them. St Basil tells the Virgin why Irene is present. To heal the nun she summons St Anastasia and instructs her and St Basil to investigate the origin of the possession. They leave for Cappadocia, and Irene is advised to return with the nuns to their convent.

During protracted prayers in the church Sts Basil and Anastasia suddenly appear in the air, dropping a package which appears to contain the magic devices used by the Cappadocian sorcerer, including two leaden idols resembling the loving couple. In the morning Irene sends the possessed girl and the two nuns just mentioned to the Church of St Anastasia, giving them the package and providing them with oblatory gifts for the Saint. After anointing the girl with oil from the lamps at the martyr's tomb, the priest burns the instruments of sorcery. As they are consumed by the fire, the girl is liberated from her demonic possession. The next day her healing is celebrated with a feast [13.].

Irene's compunction and humility surpass those of all the other nuns. Her tears are always abundant, especially during services, when she contemplates the mystery of the Incarnation. She contrives a device to escape attention when her tears flood the church floor: she has a small pit with a cover made in the floor to collect them [14.].

The vineyard of Chrysobalanton is in charge of a young man called Nicholas. After falling in love with one of the nuns he is unable to control himself. After a night of sexual fantasies he is struck down by a demonic attack resulting in epileptic symptoms. In the morning Irene learns what has happened. She divines the cause and sends the man to the Church of St Anastasia. But the martyr refuses to heal him: Irene herself must perform the miracle. Bound in chains the man is brought back to Chrysobalanton and tied to a column in the church, while Irene plans how to heal him without drawing attention to herself. After many days of prayer by the nuns, the

demon drives Nicholas to break his chains and attack the priest officiating at the service. Irene restrains him and begins a dialogue with the demon. His reason for entering this man, he says (after having insulted and mocked her), is his negligence to attend church and his shameful love for a nun. The demon refers to the 'Prince of the demons' and informs Irene about this character: it was he who caused the Fall and all human sin and even the crucifixion of Christ. But the latter act was a mistake, since through it God was reconciled with man, who would otherwise have been unable to resist the power of the Devil. The demons derive one advantage from inciting man to revolt against God: to have companions in their own evil. Irene exorcises him, and Nicholas leaves healed [15.].

Irene continues her standing prayers. At times she protracts them over a whole week so that her arms, held up towards heaven, are fixed in their position. One night a nun looks out at the forecourt of the church to catch sight of Irene praying and levitating two cubits above the ground. Two cypresses show her respect by bowing their crowns. The nun does not reveal the secret at once. But after some time, when veils of silk are observed in the tops of the trees, she tells the amazed sisterhood what she has seen. Irene reproaches her, anxious as she is not to attract any attention to herself [16.].

At the celebration of St Basil's day a mouse appears to have defiled the sanctuary. After a prayer by Irene it is found dead and thrown on the dunghill while the priest praises God [17.].

Irene receives a supernatural message about a sailor who on the same day will bring her fruit. Soon after she meets the man as he visits the convent. He tells her that during his voyage from Patmos, his native island, his ship was stopped by a venerable old man who called out from a rock there and came out to the ship on the stormy sea, carrying apples from Paradise to be brought to Constantinople, three for the Patriarch Ignatios and three for Irene. Covered in a golden cloth they fill the convent with a wonderful fragrance. One apple is enough to feed Irene during forty days of fasting before Easter, the second she distributes among the nuns, and the third she keeps for herself 'as an amulet' [18.].

On Easter Eve Irene has a vision: while the nuns are singing at the liturgy some young men in white clothes surround them, performing what seems to be the consecration of an altar (or a church). For some reason the ritual cannot be completed until 'the second Solomon shall come', according to an old man supervising the procedure. But then also Irene's memory will be exalted. As Irene interprets the vision it means that no honour will be paid either to Chrysobalanton or to herself as long as her disciples are alive [19.].

A nun who asks Irene to pray for health is given the answer that she would

rather pray for the very opposite: the soul benefits from the illness of the body [20.].

A relative of Irene, with the rank of *illoŭstrios*, is accused of plotting against the Emperor. He is arrested, ignorant of the accusations brought against him. The Emperor plans to have him thrown into the sea, and in their desperation his family begs Irene for help. In a nightly vision she appears in the Emperor's bedroom, threatening him with death unless he releases his innocent prisoner, and telling her name. Questioned by the Emperor, who suspects the vision to be the result of magic, he denies any involvement but admits that he knows Irene and gives some information about her. The Emperor sends men to seek for Chrysobalanton and Irene. Informed about this through a dream the Saint has already warned the nuns about the visit. The mounted nobles appear with their retinue, causing fear and excitement among them. They are received by Irene in the church, and inspired with deep awe as a flash of lightning issues from her face. She tells them to repeat to the Emperor the command she has already given him in a dream: to release his prisoner. During Irene's edifying talk to them the painter, who is among the Emperor's men, sketches her portrait. Reporting to the Emperor, his men also show him Irene's image. A flash of lightning springs up from it, and the terror-struck Emperor at once recognizes the woman who had appeared in his dream. He realizes that his suspicions about her kinsman must be unfounded, and releases him immediately. To the Saint he writes a letter of apology, asking for an opportunity to see her, but in her reply she declines any direct contact with him. At the convent the happy issue is celebrated with a feast [21.].

Christopher is a trusted friend of Irene who often visits Chrysobalanton to converse with her. After one of his visits she says to him, 'Go, my child, may God let your spirit rest among the righteous.' Despite her evasions he understands these words as a prediction of his imminent death, and in fact he dies in his home the same evening. When the nuns reproach Irene for having upset Christopher, she sends the maid Euetheia to confirm what has happened to him, and the girl returns with the report of his death. Subsequent predictions of this kind by the Saint always come true [22.].

On the day of consecration of the convent's church (26 July) Irene is informed by the Spirit that the next time she celebrates this feast will be the last. One year later, after celebrating the same feast again, she ceases to eat any other food than the last of the three apples brought to her from Paradise. On the third day (28 July) she begins to pray and weep abundantly. She explains to the distressed nuns that she will be leaving this world presently, and designates the 'mistress Maria' as her successor as abbess. After a long prayer

she dies. The news of her death spreads throughout the city and a great crowd, in which women of senatorial families are prominent, gathers at Chrysobalanton to see and touch the dead Saint. Not until late at night do the nuns have an opportunity to prepare for her interment in a new tomb in the Chapel of St Theodore. She is said to have reached the age of 97. Her tomb continues to be venerated, especially by the kinsman whom she liberated from prison [23.].

Still (i.e., when *VI* is being written) Irene's tomb mediates blessings to venerated, particularly those who need help against false accusers and calumniators. For Irene possessed the gift of reconciling people and establishing love between them in accordance with the law of Christ [24.].

2. General Character and Date of Composition

It was long since observed³ that the chronological frame of *VI* is not consistent. From the chronological information in the text a couple of critical junctures immediately emerge. The bride-show for Michael III (text, chapter 3) must be assumed to have taken place in 855 when that Emperor married Eudokia Dekapolitissa (in fact, when Irene arrived in Constantinople this marriage had already been arranged; text, 12,8—9). This episode, which is of primary importance for the structure of *VI*, is incompatible with the visit Irene paid to St Ioannikios on Mount Olympos on her way from Cappadocia to Constantinople (text, same chapter), for Ioannikios died in 846. Nor is the story of the bride-show in accord with the circumstances under which Irene was ordained deaconess and hegumena (text, 28,3 ff.), for the ordination is said to have been performed by the Patriarch Methodios, who died in 847. A preliminary conclusion to be drawn from these inaccuracies is that the author wrote *VI* without an adequate knowledge of the events which the text purports to describe and therefore probably lived much later. Can this conclusion be supported by other elements in the *Vita*? To answer this question it will be useful to analyze more closely those sections of *VI* which seem to connect Irene's person and activities with ninth-century Byzantium as known from other sources.

³ Already by I. Pinius in his *commentarius praeuius*, 601F. See also J. Van den Gheyn's *commentarius praeuius to VIoann*, 328 f. (no. 38), and most recently C. Mango, 'Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty', *ZRVI*, 14/15 (1973), 17—27, esp. 22, note 31.

The introductory first chapter outlines the situation after the death of the Emperor Theophilos. It is centered around the heroic character of the Empress Theodora whom the author eulogizes without giving any historical details beyond what may be supposed to have been common, or at least easily accessible, knowledge.⁴ In chapters 2 and 3, however, two noteworthy episodes in the Empress's career soon after the restoration of Orthodoxy are developed at greater length. The first concerns her successful attempt to save the soul of her dead husband Theophilos, the last iconoclastic emperor.

The efforts of Theodora to clear her husband's memory are known to the historiographers.⁵ But the narrative effect of the story as told in *VI* is based on a detail absent from those texts, namely, that the redemption of Theophilos was confirmed by the supernatural erasure of his name from a list of Iconoclasts deposited on the altar of St Sophia. The legendary character of the story in this form is evident, and in fact its model can be identified as one of the hagiographic pieces about Theophilos which were circulated after his death.⁶ That the author of *VI* retells this legend does not show more than a certain acquaintance with ninth-century hagiography, without implying any historical knowledge of the period.

The second of these episodes, the bride-show reported in chapter 3 of the *Vita*, seems at first sight to present a valuable because original piece of information, and this is how it has been generally taken by scholars who have discussed it.⁷ It has been regarded as confirming and confirmed by a series

of texts testifying to the custom of arranging bride-shows as a means to find a suitable wife for the future Emperor of Byzantium during the eighth-ninth centuries. The topic as a whole and parts of it have been discussed in several recent studies and there is no need here to take into account the material outside *VI*.⁸

The historians of the period know nothing of a bride-show for Michael III, but one independent source does: the funeral oration on Basil I by his son Leo VI. According to this text Basil's wife, Eudokia Ingerina, had participated in the bride-show for Michael, like Irene unsuccessfully. But this failure paved the way for Eudokia to win the real success of becoming the bride of Basil, a man in all respects superior to Michael, his vile victim.⁹

The historical value of the information given by this hyperbolic and highly abstract laudation is not to be very highly rated. Although likely to have been well informed, its author rather aimed at obscuring than illuminating some of the most important facts in Basil's career, and the role that Eudokia had played as Michael's mistress certainly needed to be glossed over as much as many other details.¹⁰ In fact the bride-show performs this function: explaining the presence of Eudokia at the court, and at the same time her lack of an official position, it transforms this actually embarrassing situation into a meaningful state of waiting for God's plans to be fully carried out.

The function of the corresponding episode in *VI* is remarkably similar.

⁴ The outlines of the iconoclastic controversy and the circumstances around the Triumph of Orthodoxy must have been well-known ever since the feast began to be celebrated, for they are mentioned or described in the liturgical texts read during that feast. It should be noted however that the feast itself is not attested until 899 (see J. Gouillard in his ed. of *SynodOrthod*, p. 129 f.).

⁵ See Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 153,21 f.; PsSymeon, ed. cit., 651,8, according to whom the Empress achieved her husband's redemption by supplicating the priests who confirmed it ἐγγράφως.

⁶ The *NarrTheophilAbs* edited by W. Regel in 1891 along with the short text *De Theophili imperatoris benefactis*. Both must belong in the period immediately after 843 when there was certainly a need to reconcile the memory of the iconoclastic but by no means unpopular dead Emperor with the re-established Orthodoxy, represented by members of his own family. Cf. note 1 on *VI*, ch. 2, *infra*.

⁷ See W.T. Treadgold, 'The Bride-Shows of the Byzantine Emperors', *Byz*, 49 (1979), 395—413, esp. 404 f. and 411 (the author regards *VI* as 'probably early' without giving any reasons for his view); also E. Kislinger, 'Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I. und Michael III.', *JÖB*, 33 (1983), 119—136, esp. 124, who repeats a combination of *VI* with *VEustr* made by F. Dvorník in 1966 (see note 2 on *VI*, ch. 3, *infra*). To none of these authors is the historicity of the bride-show for Michael as such problematic; to both the problem is whether or not Eudokia Ingerina participated in it. Treadgold answers yes, Kislinger, no. Cf. note 10, *infra*.

⁸ Notably the article by Treadgold cited in the preceding note, in which a positive view is taken towards the entire material. Contrast the recent study by L. Rydén, 'The Bride-shows at the Byzantine Court—History or Fiction?', *Eranos*, 83 (1985), 175—191, where references to earlier literature will be found. I agree with the sceptical attitude expressed in this study, according to which the bride-shows occurring in Byzantine literature from Theophanes onwards should be regarded principally as a recurrent literary motif, not an irrational but tenaciously upheld custom of solving a dynastic problem.

⁹ The relevant section of this text is 52,27—54,12 in the ed. by A. Vogt & I. Hausherr, 'Oration funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage', *OC*, 26, 1 (1932); it reads: [the following I will tell] ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὡς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ θεοῦ τῷ ὄντι ἦν τὸ πρὸς γάμον ἐκείνου ταύτην ἔλθεῖν. ἐκάλει μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἢ ὥρα τὸν κατ'ἐκείνο καιροῦ βασιλέα πρὸς γάμον καὶ συνηθοῖζοντο ἀπανταχόθεν αἱ κάλλει διαφέρουσαι, ἐν αἷς καὶ αὐτὴ κατεῖλετο, καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἐκείνῳ ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ δέδοτο, λιπὼν τὴν ὅσον οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἔστιν ἔχουσιν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἑτέραν ἡγάγετο. 'Εδόκει μὲν δὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπεικῶς παράλογον καὶ λύπης ἄξιον· τὸ δὲ ἦν τῆς ἀνωθεν οἰκονομίας καὶ τῆς ὕστερον εὐφροσύνης ταμίευσις, κτλ. This should be compared with *VI*, 8,7 ff. and especially 12,8 ff., *infra*.

¹⁰ On Eudokia Ingerina, see C. Mango, art.cit. (note 3, *supra*), who notes (p. 22) that Michael seems to have kept up 'a façade of respectability' around his connection with this woman; and most recently E. Kislinger, art. cit. (note 7, *supra*). Kislinger, who believes in the bride-show, does not believe that Eudokia participated in it. His explanation why the opposite is stated in Leo's oration is in principle the same as that presented above.

It is centered on a loser in the contest and turns her failure into a success by references to the superior honour awaiting in the near future. To my mind, this already must raise suspicions against the historicity of the bride-show for Michael. The chronological difficulties have already been stated; they are indeed very serious. If we believe that the author relates facts founded on historical reality, the difficulties must be solved by choosing between two alternatives: Either it is true that Irene went to Constantinople soon after 843, met St Ioannikios and was ordained deaconess by Methodios; in which case the purpose of her journey was not the bride-show. Or she did go to the capital to participate in the bride-show; then she did not meet Ioannikios, and Methodios did not ordain her deaconess. In either case an element essential to the story would be lost and new difficulties arise. Why did Irene leave Cappadocia if not for the bride-show? Why did this young noblewoman, regarded as the future empress, change her mind so quickly if not under the powerful spiritual influence of Ioannikios?

It seems impossible, in view of these considerations, to use *VI* as support of the non-committal information given in Leo's funeral oration on his father. It rather seems likely that both authors used a literary motif to serve special purposes; as far as we can ascertain it was a motif that had been in vogue since the beginning of the ninth century. In the case of *VI* the purpose was not only to present the heroine in a favourable light as being a beautiful and rich young woman worthy of becoming an empress, but also to give her an honourable reason to go to Constantinople where all her active life was to be spent.¹¹

If we do not accept the bride-show in *VI* and Irene's participation in it as historical facts, this will have important consequences for our attitude towards the historical significance of the text as a whole. For if Irene is introduced in the story on an occasion about which the author had no clear knowledge, and by means of a fictitious event; and if, as is in fact the case, the rest of the *Vita* does not present one single point of controllable chronological coordination between events in the Saint's career and the history of the ninth century, then we must ask whether anything at all in this story, including the very figure of Irene, is based on historical information

¹¹ Some male saints began their career in a similar way. E.g., the parents of Nikephoros, the future bishop of Miletos (10th c.), sent their son to Constantinople hoping to see him promoted, as a eunuch, to service at court; cf. his *Vita*, ed. H. Delehaye (*AnalBoll*, 14 [1895], 129—166), 136, ch. 4. People who wished a glorious future for their daughters would have few options besides a noble marriage.

of that period. The likely answer is no. In fact a comment by L.G. Westerink on the narrative technique used in the *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* would seem to apply to *VI* as well. 'L'essentiel de cette technique', he says, 'est précisément qu'on commence par des détails chronologiques et topographiques qui doivent être reconnaissables et vérifiables; au fur et à mesure, on passe à des détails également précis, mais peut-être moins faciles à vérifier; la ligne de séparation entre la réalité et la fantaisie doit rester floue, de sorte que le lecteur ne s'aperçoit pas à quel point il passe de l'une à l'autre.'¹² From this point of view the introduction of historically incompatible elements presents only the minor problem of credibility for people well read in historiography. Far more important is their positive function of justifying and initiating the action and carrying it forward by means of figures and motifs familiar to the ordinary reader. Thus, for example, Ioannikios was the most famous saint of the second iconoclastic period and plays an important role in many subsequent saints' Lives, especially as a reliable predictor of future events. And wherever Ioannikios appears, Methodios naturally comes to mind, since the former predicted his career and was his constant spiritual adviser.¹³

One remarkable fact about *VI* is that the author makes no attempt to induce us to believe that the text was written by a contemporary of Irene, let alone an eye-witness. On the contrary, circumstances suggesting the very opposite are repeatedly emphasized, and in fact it remains unexplained how evidence on Irene could ever reach the author. Several times we are told that the Saint endeavoured to veil her activities in silence (e.g., 66,10, ἥ [sc. Irene] τοῦ λαθάνειν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐμελε; 70,1, ἔν' . . . λάθοι τοῦτον ἱασαμένη; also 98,32 f.),¹⁴ and that we are to regard this striving of Irene as having been fully successful appears from her own interpretation of the vision in *VI*, chapter 19 (see especially 86,20 ff., μήτε ταύτην [i.e. Irene] δοξασθήσεσθαι πρὸς γε τὸ παρόν, . . . ἕως ἂν αἱ μαθητευθεῖσαι ταύτη τῷ βίῳ περιῶσιν). If we take the 'glorification of Irene' to include the composition of *VI*, which seems quite natural (cf. note ad loc.), this prophecy *ex eventu* has the effect of postponing the composition of *VI* one or two genera-

¹² L.G. Westerink (ed.), *Nicetas Magistros, Lettres d'un exilé (928—946)* (Paris, 1973), 44.

¹³ Cf. E. von Dobschütz, 'Methodios und die Studiten. Strömungen und Gegenströmungen in der Hagiographie des 9. Jahrhunderts', *BZ*, 18 (1909), 41—105, esp. 95.

¹⁴ That this feature may be regarded as a hagiographic cliché, or at least as a recurring theme in a great number of texts, does not mean that this or any other author necessarily used it indiscriminately. For one parallel, cf. *VBIun*, fol. 3—3^v (ed. Vilinskij 284,20—21), οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐτι τῷ βίῳ περιῶν δῆλον ἑαυτὸν τινι πεποίηκεν, etc.

tions after Irene's death. A reasonable date from this point of view may be reached by the following simple calculation: According to the author the bride-show was held soon after the restoration of Orthodoxy in 843. If Irene took part in it, she would have been born about 830 and have died, ninety-seven years old (see text, 110,22 f.), about 930.^{14a} If we suppose that young nuns continued to take the vows at Chrysobalanton as long as Irene was alive, some may have been about twenty when their abbess died. If none of them lived longer than seventy years, which may seem a reasonable assumption, *VI* could have been written about 980, at the earliest.

This very approximate date, which an attentive reader can infer from a combination of pieces of evidence scattered over the text, can be confirmed to a certain extent by a passage providing a more definite *terminus post quem*. At 52,3—4 the author states¹⁵ that the government of Basil the Macedonian ἐπὶ τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην ἐξετάθη γενεάν (cf. note ad loc.), and the relevance of this statement for the date of the *Vita* is quite clear: the author knew that Basil II, representing the fifth generation of the Macedonian dynasty, had eventually succeeded to the throne of Byzantium, and *VI* must have been written at some stage of that Emperor's long reign, and before his death, i.e., 976—1025.¹⁶

Can these rather wide limits be narrowed? There is some probability that the *terminus post quem* should be moved forward slightly; this will be discussed later in this Chapter (*infra*, section 3). As for the *terminus ante quem*, there is no evidence permitting a more precise statement than that given above. The earliest mentions of Irene outside her *Vita* are found in some versions of the Synaxarion of Constantinople.¹⁷ The earliest of these

^{14a} I don't know how the appearance of Patriarch Ignatios in *VI*, ch. 18 should be explained, if its purpose is not just to associate Irene with him in a very general way. His role would be more specific if we assumed, not unreasonably it seems, that the author wanted to synchronize Irene's death with his (in 877) by making them receive fruit from Paradise on the same occasion. But this assumption would cause chronological absurdities so embarrassing that I prefer not to believe in it.

¹⁵ This fact should be stressed. The information provided by this statement is such as one would expect to find in a prophecy, and the last sentence of ch. 12 (Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅσον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οὐπὲρ ἤξιωτο προφητικοῦ χαρίσματος) could indeed suggest such an idea to an unattentive reader.

¹⁶ This was pointed out already by F. Dvorník, 'Patriarch Ignatius and Caesar Bardas', *BSI*, 27 (1966), 7—22, esp. 19.

¹⁷ *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye 854, 13—15. The short note reads: Καὶ [sc. σύναξις] τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν Εἰρήνης τῆς ἐκ Καππαδοκῶν ὀρμωμένης, κειμένης δὲ ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Χρυσοβαλάνου [v.l. -άντου]. Notes on Irene are sometimes found in the younger synaxaria, such as the *Meteora*

is a manuscript dated 1071.¹⁸ This may be important for our knowledge of Irene's cult at Chrysobalanton, but adds nothing to the discussion of the date of her *Vita*.

It might be useful to sum up the result of the preceding discussion in a few words. *VI* is fiction, written at least a couple of generations after the Saint is thought to have died. The author made no effort to conceal the chronological gap between the action and the composition of the *Vita*, nor to explain how information about Irene could reach him over this length of time. Rather the problems are emphasized, albeit indirectly. Instead of telling us, e.g., that Irene lived long ago and that it was difficult, therefore, to collect the desirable information about her, the author relates her story as if this were no problem at all, paradoxically including her successful ambition to remain unknown to anyone outside the narrow circle of her disciples. The effect of these manipulations is a curious tension somewhat reminiscent of that reached by the technique of *Verfremdung* known from the plays of Bertolt Brecht: the author deliberately destroys that illusion of reality which the reader is apt to regard as one aim of the fictitious narrative. This would seem to presuppose a considerable literary consciousness, a fact which should be borne in mind during the following discussion.

3. Background, Purpose, and Authorship

To answer the question of the background of *VI* we must first try to uncover the connections which may exist between concrete information provided by the text, and facts and conditions known to apply to the probable date of its composition, i.e., approximately, the last two decades of the tenth century. Here two important links emerge: the Monastery of Chrysobalanton and the Gouber family.

There seems to be only one independent piece of evidence for a monastery called Chrysobalanton at Constantinople, namely an item in the patriarchal collection falsely ascribed to Kodinos.¹⁹ The prehistory of

MSS *Metamorphōseōs* 37 and 148 (both 15th c.); cf. N.A. Bees, *Tὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*, 1 (Athens, 1967), 57 and 170. See also Gedeon, *BE*, 141.

¹⁸ The MS Paris. gr. 1617; cf. *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye, col. XXXVI. The note on Irene is found only in four of the twenty MSS used by Delehaye for 28 July (*ibid.*, 851—854).

¹⁹ PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 243,1—12.

the foundation as described by this curious text is of no interest here (it will be discussed in Appendix A, *infra*). Relevant to this context is the fact that the patriographic item, although wholly legendary, does confirm that some kind of spiritual foundation called Chrysobalanton (its function is not specified) existed in the capital when the item was written. There is no reason for doubt on this point: the patriographer's aim was not to convince his readers that Chrysobalanton did exist, but to explain why it was founded and given its name. Accordingly he simply refers to the foundation as a building which may already have been known to readers in the city.²⁰ As for the topographical situation of Chrysobalanton, the patriographer seems to support the statement of *VI* that the convent was near the Cistern of Aspar (the text is not quite clear; cf. Appendix A, *infra*).

According to its editor, the *Patria* of Pseudo-Kodinos is a compilation finished about 995.²¹ It is reasonable to infer that Chrysobalanton was an active institution by that time; most probably it was a nunnery, as is the case in *VI*.

Two family names seem to be connected with Irene's convent. Unfortunately, the nature of this connection remains obscure, and we must, so far, content ourselves with noting some apparent facts. As shown in a recent study, there is some evidence that a medical writer generally known as Theophanes Nonnos, the probable author of three treatises dedicated to Constantine Porphyrogennetos, in fact bore the surname *Chrysobalantēs*.²² This name appears to be related to *Chrysobalantitēs*, a family name attested for a number of persons in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Yet we know nothing about either Theophanes Chrysobalantes²³ or the Chryso-

²⁰ Text. cit., 243, I, Τὸ δὲ Χρυσοβάλανον [v. l. -βάλαντον] ἦν οἶκος, etc. Cf. the similar phrases introducing notes on other existing buildings, e.g. *ibid.*, 242, 5, Τὴν δὲ ἁγίαν σορὸν ἀνίγειν, etc.; 243, 13, Ἡ δὲ μονὴ τῆς Εὐφροσύνης τὰ Λιβάρια ἐκτίσθη, etc.

²¹ Preger, ed. cit., *praefatio*, p. III.

²² J. A. M. Sonderkamp, 'Theophanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *DOP*, 38 (1984), 29–41, esp. 38 f. The name is found in one MS only, the Vindob. Med. gr. 50 (14th c.), so the evidence is both scarce and relatively late; but cf. Sonderkamp's note 49.

²³ Sonderkamp, art. cit., 39, forwards two alternative explanations of Theophanes's second name: either he belonged to the Chrysobalantites family, or was in some way affiliated with Chrysobalanton, perhaps serving as a physician at a hospital attached to the convent. The hypothesis of a hospital is unlikely since *VI*, actually our only reliable source, provides no support for it. Sonderkamp exaggerates the dimensions of Chrysobalanton when he speaks about 'its churches and chapels'. In fact, Chrysobalanton appears to have had only one church with a *parekklēsiōn* serving as burial place; cf. App. A, *infra*, and note 4 on *VI*, ch. 23.

balantitai²⁴ which would enable us to establish more than the obvious, purely linguistic connection between their names and the name of Irene's convent.

Now the name of the convent is somewhat problematic. Apparently the author of the *Patria* took it as neuter (see the quotation in note 20, *supra*), whereas *VI* is ambiguous, giving the name only in the genitive and (once) the dative. The *Patria* derives the name from βαλάντιον, 'purse' (cf. Appendix A, *infra*). That the story presented there is an invention to explain the name does not necessarily mean that the etymology is false, but in fact, although it gives a satisfactory sense, it seems dubious: it is difficult to explain why the termination -τιον changed to -τον, a natural development being rather -τιον > -τιν.²⁵ A solution which appeals to me although it is contradicted by the *Patria* and *VI* (τῷ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ at 10, 18 and ἐν μοναστηρίῳ λεγομένῳ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ at 92, 20 are conclusive), is that the convent's name originally contained the genitive form of the name *Chrysobalantēs*. This is probably how it was understood by one redactor of *SynaxCP*, who wrote τῇ μονῇ τῶν Χρυσοβαλάν[τ]ου (see the quotation in note 17, *supra*); it should be compared with such names as τὰ Στουδίου, etc. That the authors of *VI* and the *Patria* analyzed the name wrongly may be easily explained if we suppose that the convent had been more or less forgotten until shortly before these two texts were written (cf. *infra*). The mistake would only have been easier in view of the false etymology just mentioned. If the assumption of such a mistake by the author of *VI* is correct, the Chrysobalantes family can no longer have been important at the convent

²⁴ Cf. the refs. in Sonderkamp, loc. cit., note 48. As far as the social status of the Chrysobalantitai is known, they appear to have been officials in rather moderate positions. An imperial notary called John and a *prōtonotarios* and *exaktōr* called Constantine belong to the eleventh century; see V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, II (Paris, 1981), nos. 200 and 910.

How is *Chrysobalantitēs* related to *Chrysobalantēs*? Probably the former is in some sense secondary to the latter, as suggested already by the chronological circumstances (cf. *supra*, with note 23). The derivation may have occurred indirectly, with the convent's name as intermediary, in the same way as *Stouditēs* was derived not from *Stoudios* but from *ta Stoudiou*. That this is not a necessary detour is, however, indicated by another pair of names: *Abalantēs/Balantēs* and *Balantitēs* (for the former, cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 210, 85, 279, 4, 285, 30, and *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 1 [Vienna, 1976], nos. 10–16; for the latter, cf. V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan* [Paris, 1952], no. 417). It seems likely that these forms are variants of one and the same name (perhaps the derivative *Balantitēs* is approximate to 'Balantes jr.'), and this is probably how *Chrysobalantēs* and *Chrysobalantitēs* should be regarded too.

²⁵ Cf. my *Studien zur . . . Vita Theodori Syceotae* (Uppsala, 1981), 113 f. and 122.

when the *Vita* was composed. In any case, within an edition of the text it seems natural to adopt that form of the name which is likely to have been used by the author, even if it may be historically wrong.

Concerning Irene's own family we are not told directly what her Cappadocian parents were called. However, since her relatives in Constantinople, the patrician senatorial family who received her there, were called Gouber (*VI*, 12,2), we may guess that this is meant to be taken as Irene's family name also.²⁶ This name (sometimes transmitted in the form *Goumer*) is known from the historians to have been borne by two high officials²⁷ in the ninth century, one a *logothetês tou dromou* and count of the *Opsikion* appointed by Michael III, the other a *patrikios* who was member of a group charged by Leo VI with the task of investigating the Santabarenos affair.²⁸ Later instances of the name Gouber do not seem to occur.

It is true that Irene's parents and other relatives in Cappadocia are forgotten as soon as they have performed what is their real function as far as *VI* is concerned, namely to fit out and send their daughter to Constantinople. In contrast, Irene's aristocratic relatives in the capital play an important role, and she seems constantly to have maintained contact with them. In fact one of the longest episodes of the *Vita* is centered around one of them, a man who in the end owed Irene his life (*VI*, chapter 21). The positive attitude towards family ties which this episode displays did not belong to the standard virtues of a saint; on the contrary, the opposite was the normal case, although the evidence eventually becomes ambiguous.²⁹ But the classical

ideal of sanctity had begun to change in parts of tenth-century hagiography. There were hagiographers of that period who attached great importance to the lineage and the families of their heroes, and especially in Constantinople the activities of saints were often restricted so as never to reach beyond very narrow circles of relatives and friends. Such saints were spiritual guides on a very private basis, and their sanctity also turned out to be a rather private affair: the light of its glory was shed above all on the saint's own family.³⁰

In fact the Convent of Chrysobalanton and Irene's family are the two poles between which the whole action of *VI* moves; obviously there was a close connection between them, although the *Vita* gives no hints about its nature. An attractive idea would be that in the tenth century Chrysobalanton was a private religious foundation, inhabited by women belonging to the Gouber family and perhaps established (i.e., refounded) by that family. Is there any evidence to support such a theory?

As for Chrysobalanton specifically there is none. However, some of the information we have about other Middle Byzantine convents in Constantinople may be to the point, although, admittedly, most of the available material, above all the important *typika*, is younger than *VI*. The convents of which we have some knowledge were mostly imperial or aristocratic foundations. As some recent studies have shown, they were established primarily either as family mausoleums or as safe homes for women belonging to the founder families when in need of a sheltered refuge.³¹ Dethroned emperors

²⁶ This is what Grégoire already supposed; see his note in *Byz*, 7 (1932), 719.

²⁷ Perhaps the two are identical. Cf. R. Guiland, 'Contribution à la prosopographie de l'empire byzantin: Les Patrices. Sous les règnes de Basile I^{er} (877—886) et de Léon VI (886—912)', *BZ*, 63 (1970), 300—317, esp. 309; also, id., 'Les logothètes. Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin', *REB*, 29 (1971), 51 (to the references add now Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 173,17). *Gouber* may be related to Κοῦβερ, the Bulgarian, i.e. Turkic, name of an Avar general mentioned in the *Miracula Demetrii* (see P. Charanis, 'Kouper, the Chronology of his Activities and their Ethnic Effects on the Regions around Thessalonica', *Balkan Studies*, 11 [1970], 229—247; M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou, 'Τὸ ἐπιστόδιο τοῦ Κοῦβερ στὰ "Θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου"', *Βυζαντινά*, 1 [1981], 69—87); cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 (Berlin, 1958), 165, referring to an observation made by I. Dujčev in 1955.—Γουέριος is the uncertain reading of an inscription on a lead seal reported by H. Grégoire in *Byz*, 6 (1931), 814.

²⁸ On Theodore Santabarenos, cf. P. Karlin-Hayter's commentary on *V EuthymPatr*, 4,29 (p. 158 f.) and relevant sections of her Introduction as quoted, *ibid.* He was a friend of Photios. It might be significant that this patriarch is not mentioned in *VI* whereas Ignatios plays an important role.

²⁹ Contrast the extreme case of Theodora of Thessalonica who, living in the same convent as her own daughter, was forced completely to ignore her maternal feelings: *V TheodorThess*,

ed. Arsenij 16, ch. 26 (Kurtz, 15,12 ff., esp. the addition there at line 35 f., ἅπας συγγενείας λόγος ἐνταῦθα καταπεπότηται καὶ πατὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ μήτηρ ἐνταῦθα, etc.). To the point, because representing an upper-class milieu similar to that of Irene, is also the case of Michael Maleinos who began his spiritual career by hiding from his family with an old hermit at Mount Kymina (*VMichMal*, ed. Petit 552,24 ff.). Cf. also *V NicMet*, ed. Lampsides 30,36; 32,12 f. Evidence of both attitudes has been collected by A.P. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical Notes, 8', *Byz*, 54 (1984), 188—192.

³⁰ See the discussion of a number of relevant texts in Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir', 100 f.

³¹ See D. De F. Abrahamse, 'Women's Monasticism . . .' (note 2, *supra*); A.-M. M. Talbot, 'A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women', *GOTR*, 30 (1985), 1—20, esp. 4. The 'profound sense of family solidarity and family loyalty' evident in the *typika* is stressed by A.E. Laiou, 'Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women', *ByzF*, 9 (1985), 59—102, esp. 74 f. Many of the most important aspects of female monasticism are illustrated in these three papers. Add A.-M. Talbot, 'Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?', *ByzF*, 9 (1985), 103—117 (reviewing a variety of motives, besides spiritual vocation, for women to take the veil); A. Weyl Carr, 'Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian', *ibid.*, 1—15. For ninth/tenth-century family foundations of Constantinople in general, see G. Dagron, 'Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine', *DOP*, 31 (1977), 1—25, esp. 8 and 18. Add to Dagron's selection of examples the case of the Armenian Manuel, *prōtomagistros* under Theophilos, who turned his house near Aspar's cistern into a monastery (Georgios Monachos, ed. Istrin 3,6 ff.).

and disgraced magnates were among those whose wives and daughters would be apt to regard the retreat to a convent as the natural solution of their problems.

For Irene the sole reason to take the veil was her spiritual vocation, and when she joined the sisterhood she entered a convent which, after a long period of inactivity and decay, had been active in a reorganized form for some years already (since the end of Iconoclasm; cf. text, 14,3 ff.). The situation which prevailed when *VI* was written is less clear. If my interpretation of Irene's vision in chapter 19 of *VI* is correct (see note 1 on that chapter, and cf. *supra*, section 2), the composition of *VI* was roughly contemporary with the real re-consecration of the conventual church, the event to which this vision seems to point forward. More precisely, according to this interpretation, *VI* was probably written soon after Chrysobalanton had been re-founded, and the author is likely to have been among those immediately interested in the enterprise.

But no indications are given about the circumstances under which Chrysobalanton and its past became a commitment of the author. Within the limits set by the fictitious chronology this was of course impossible. The best we could hope for would be hints suggestive of a parallelism between past and present in the same way as, e.g., the situation of Chrysobalanton after Iconoclasm, when Irene enters the convent (*VI*, 14,4 ff.), may be regarded as loosely parallel to its situation immediately before *VI* was written. Are there any such hints?

There may be one. Two episodes in Irene's saintly career stand out through the long and detailed descriptions which the author has devoted to them: chapter 13, about the possessed nun from Cappadocia, and chapter 21, about the liberation of the Saint's kinsman from the Emperor's prison. Whereas the former episode testifies primarily to an interest in magic and a special devotion to Cappadocia, apparently in some sense the homeland of the Gouber family, the latter could be important for the present purpose. At first sight it seems to be an unusually circumstantial elaboration of a theme of which variations will be found in many texts: the superhuman power of restoring justice by making unjust judgments be revoked.³² But closely read it also seems to betray involvement of a certain, to my mind

³² For one example, cf. *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 110,29 ff.: Nikon appears in a dream of a *koubikoularios* threatening him with a *πικρὸν . . . τοῦ βίου καταστροφή* unless he releases a certain prisoner from jail.

somewhat surprising, amount of personal feelings in the story, of sympathy on the one hand and bitterness on the other. They may not be very conspicuously expressed, but with an author whose person and interests never appear directly such traces of a personal commitment behind the text should not be ignored.³³ It would be worthwhile to note some details.

The prisoner is presented as 'one of the beloved close relatives' of Irene (88,12 f.). His family, which consequently includes the Saint, learns about the grim fate of the man by a rumour. It tells them that the Emperor is planning to have his prisoner thrown into the sea 'so that his body would not even be buried since none of his relatives would learn in what way he had died' (88,20—24). Then they approach Irene begging her 'to help their unjustly accused relative' (90,1—2). They leave her 'very grieved and deeply sighing and weeping' (90,5—6), anxious and concerned about this imminent danger for her family.

Irene's first step is to appear before the Emperor in a nocturnal vision. Her utterances show as little reverence for the mighty Sovereign as does her unannounced appearance in his bedroom. 'Stand up at once', she tells him with the self-confident candour of an immaterial phantom, 'and release from prison the man you have unjustly confined. Otherwise', she threatens, 'I will stir the King of heaven Himself against you and raise a war and a slaughter against you so that your flesh will provide food for the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air' (90,12—17). These are strong words and they make the Emperor 'seethe with anger' (90,17—18).

When the Emperor's men arrive at the convent, Irene repeats her threat before them in less harsh words introduced by the reproachful question, 'But why did he who sent you cause you trouble in his distrust?' (96,5—6). The Emperor's distrust is broken by a flash of lightning from the portrait of the Saint which is brought back to him by his men; it leaves him 'greatly appalled and speechless' (96,27). When he finally writes a conciliatory letter to the

³³ On the authors' absence from their texts, the normal case before the eleventh century, see A. Kazhdan, 'Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte', *JÖB*, 28 (1979), 1—21, esp. 11—13; id., *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge & Paris, 1984), 112 f., 191 f. But hagiographers *do* appear in person, albeit discreetly, in many texts of the ninth-tenth centuries. In several cases they tell their names and their relation to their heroes, and sometimes circumstances around the composition of their texts are indicated (cf. L. Petit in his Introduction to *VMichMal*, p. 545: 'A Byzance, un hagiographe qui se respecte ne manque jamais de parler un peu de lui, de faire accomplir en sa faveur quelque miracle par son héros, de nous initier parfois aux plus intimes secrets de sa conscience.'). In that respect *VI* is rather an extreme case of reticence.

holy woman, the Emperor is a humble or even humiliated figure, who for some time has seen the wielding of his almighty power questioned, at least in one point, by an unknown female relative of a man whom he had regarded as a traitor. And this woman now sees fit to be so generous as to excuse his mistake: 'Being good, Emperor, God is always wont to overlook our infirmities', etc. (98,19–20).

At the end of the chapter the liberated prisoner shows Irene his gratitude, then the note of family loyalty struck at the beginning is reiterated: the man went home bringing 'still greater joy and happiness for his wife, his children and all his kin' (100,23–25).

In its place towards the end of the *Vita*, this long chapter forms, as it were, the climax of Irene's activity as a miracle-worker. As far as I can see there is no single episode to match it in the emotional intensity displayed by the Saint and the attention paid to her family ties. In the limited context of just this chapter, this may not be surprising, at least if we take it for granted that Irene's devotion to her relatives was natural to an aristocratic city ascetic. Still it was the author's choice to use this event as a major expression of Irene's sanctity and to make her approach the narrated situation with such emotional fervour. And since the author appears not to have chosen literary material indiscriminately (cf. section 2, *supra*), we are entitled to ask for reasons for this choice too.

I would offer an explanation of the significant position occupied by chapter 21 which seems attractive in that, without creating new problems, it answers questions about both the activities at Chrysobalanton towards the end of the tenth century, and the circumstances under which *VI* was written. I suggest that the situation of the author when writing the *Vita* was broadly similar to that of Irene and her relatives as there described.

First, if a male member of the Gouber family had been arrested by the imperial authorities, this would have meant that the women of the family badly needed a refuge of the kind that Chrysobalanton could provide. Secondly, as a recently restored monastic institution, Chrysobalanton would have benefitted from an honourable connection with the past and the sanction of a cult with a fixed place in the festal calendar; *VI* could provide both. Third, a family tragedy of the kind suggested above would certainly have been traumatic enough to induce one of those involved to express the bitter feelings of which chapter 21 of *VI* seems to bear witness. Since they implied criticism of the Emperor they could only be expressed indirectly; words uttered by a long dead woman to an unnamed emperor in a dream could have served this purpose.

The situation of a disgraced family who sees its existence endangered by

suspicious of treason against the Sovereign must often have occurred throughout the history of Byzantium.³⁴ Indeed it is a danger to which the members of any autocratic society will be exposed, especially those who belong to the governing classes, and it will naturally increase in periods of slackening solidarity and social tensions within the society. The probable date of the composition of *VI* as considered above (see section 2, *supra*) would seem to fall within such a period.

As is well known, Basil II succeeded to a throne which for many years had only formally belonged to the Macedonian dynasty. The real power was in the hands of members of the military aristocracy, and gradually this state of affairs had come to be regarded as natural. When the young Emperor Basil eventually appeared reluctant to play the merely decorative role of his predecessors, he faced a formidable enemy in the former power élite.³⁵

It was not until 989 that Basil's efforts to consolidate his position as a virtually ruling Emperor were crowned with success. In the sea-battle at Abydos that year, the military aristocracy, represented by families such as the Skleroi and the Phokades (both originating from Cappadocia where they had large estates), received the decisive blow. But even if they only slowly recovered from this defeat, their active hostility and resistance towards the Emperor did not cease immediately. For years Basil had to deal with repeated outbreaks of armed opposition, and it is easy to imagine the bitter atmosphere in which the wounds inflicted in this struggle were eventually healed. Basil left behind the memory of an austere and gloomy man, reserved and suspicious and with few intimate friends. His experiences of a hostile aristocracy certainly supported this development of his character.

I believe that the interpretation of chapter 21 of *VI* as proposed above could be made more precise by reference to the circumstances just mentioned. If the Gouber family belonged to the aristocracy rooted in Anatolia and established in Constantinople, which was obviously the case, they were among those for whom the Emperor's suspiciousness was especially dangerous. Since *VI* presupposes an emperor in full control of power, this

³⁴ For one case in point, cf. *infra*, Chapter II, section 1, no. 4 (on the manuscript P), and cf. note 37, *infra*.

³⁵ On the initial period of Basil's reign, see G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1963), 247–252; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204. A Political History* (London & New York, 1984), 2–3. For a summary discussion of Basil's policy towards the aristocracy, see *id.* (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), Introduction, 2–3.

could mean that the probable date of the text would be after rather than before the battle of Abydos in 989.

According to *VI* the disgraced Gouber was cleared of complicity in any treason (text, 96,30 ff.). If we grant that his story reflects a real incident, we may ask if his tenth-century model was as lucky. As far as the evidence of *VI* goes, this seems not to have been the case. It is easier to explain chapter 21 of the *Vita* as an appeal to try a case in which the defendant had already been convicted, and it is only in accordance with Byzantine literary practice that this appeal has not the form of a personal plea. Instead there is the seemingly objective description of an event which could serve as an exemplary model with a very general scope.³⁶

Against this background the final chapter (24) of *VI* would assume special significance. There we are told about the benefits which could be derived from Irene even after her death. In particular she was helpful to those who 'are dragged into court by people who love evil more than good and lying rather than to speak righteousness' (text, 112,5—7), etc. Later on we learn that Christ will even 'reconcile . . . people who . . . have been angry and brutal to each other and have not even endured to hear each other's names'. It is true that this is a rather trivial exegesis of Irene's name. Still to include it in the *Vita* was a choice of the author, who did not, as we have seen, use literary clichés indiscriminately (cf. section 2, *supra*). As for the name itself, one may ask whether it was invented by the author or derives from traditions preserved at Chrysobalanton or in the Gouber family. The latter alternative, which would make chapter 24 of the *Vita* somewhat less significant in this context, has support from the reference to Irene's tomb as an object of veneration in the author's lifetime (*VI*, 112,3, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ τιμία ταύτης σορὸς πάσης ὠφελείας πηγὴ, etc.). If this statement reflects reality, it could refer to a monument extant at Chrysobalanton in the tenth century (and inscribed with the name of Irene?).

The preceding discussion has repeatedly touched upon questions about the authorship of *VI*. It will have emerged that the anonymous author never appears in person, at least not as author. At the same time it is fairly clear in what circles he is likely to be found: among people belonging to or somehow closely related to the Gouber family.

As has already been pointed out, the Gouber family is not attested for the period to which *VI* belongs. Neither are there attestations of anonymous in-

cidents of the kind reflected in *VI* which could reasonably be connected with this *Vita* and illuminate the question of its authorship.³⁷ Consequently, since external evidence is lacking, any precise information we could possibly expect must be sought within *VI*.

If we suppose that the author hides behind one of the characters figuring in the *Vita*, there will be few possible choices. Besides Irene, the Goubers are represented by her anonymous sister (text, 8,18, 50,1 ff.), the likewise anonymous prisoner of the Emperor (text, 88,9 ff.), and, possibly, Irene's 'close friend' Christopher (text, 100,28 ff.; cf. note ad loc.). As for the sister, her role in *VI* is restricted to that of an unsuccessful intermediary between Irene and her own husband, the Caesar Bardas (text, 50,4 ff.); after that she never appears again, and nothing indicates that she was active to promote the memory of Irene. As for Christopher, he can be directly ruled out from this context. His main function in the *Vita* is to have his death predicted by the Saint, and this prediction immediately comes true (text, loc. cit.).

For the Emperor's prisoner the situation is different. Next to Irene he is the most important single character of *VI*. If the background of the *Vita* as outlined above represents a correct interpretation, the very instigation to write it derived from the fate of this man. And in fact the text states that after his liberation he 'continued throughout his lifetime to visit her tomb and commemorate her in a most splendid and lavish way, thus incessantly offering thanks to her even when she was dead' (*VI*, 110,25 ff.). Possibly this 'splendid and lavish way' of commemorating the Saint could be a self-conscious author's reference to his own work.

Still this answer to the question of the authorship would be problematic. It seems unlikely that *VI* was written by an author in prison or serving some other kind of punishment. If identical with the prisoner of the *Vita*, he would rather be expected to have composed his work after his liberation, in the same way as the prisoner in his text paid honour to Irene only when he was a free man again. This would have two awkward consequences. First, the object of *VI*, chapter 21, would not be to plead for justice in a special case but to

³⁶ Cf. Kazhdan, *Studies* . . . (note 33, *supra*). 190.

³⁷ What we would need is something similar to a story told about an otherwise unknown Romanos Boilas, apparently a relative of the better known testator Eustathios. Romanos is reported to have been involved in a plot against an emperor (possibly Constantine IX), but eventually released; cf. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle Byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 53 f., with lit. Though belonging to a later period, his case has some similarities to the story in *VI*. The family of Boilas belonged to the landed aristocracy of Cappadocia. Incidentally their name, like that of the Goubers, is of Bulgarian origin; it is attested since the ninth century when it was born by St Ioannikios (see Moravcsik, op. cit., as in note 27, *supra*, 93—94).

give a generalized moral lesson by means of an edifying story with autobiographical elements. This would seem less natural although it coincides with the face-value of the episode (cf. *supra*, p. xxxviii). Secondly, it makes Irene's role in the story in *VI* hard to explain: why is she introduced to perform her function so circumstantially if the author had already experienced less supernatural means of having his case justly tried? Psychologically, chapter 21 as well as the final chapter of *VI* are probably easier to explain as suggesting a desirable outcome of decisions not yet taken than as a recapitulation of a finished affair.

There remains the body of inhabitants of Chrysobalanton, of which we may suppose a rather small number of aristocratic women to have constituted the leading group. Some of them would certainly have had strong motives to write a text like *VI*, but can we expect to find among them a relatively sophisticated hagiographer like this author? From a general point of view it must be admitted that this seems unlikely. As is well known, female writers of some significance were extremely rare in Byzantium, as far as we now can ascertain; actually, half a dozen names would make up a fairly exhaustive list: Kassia, the ninth-century author of liturgical poetry and maxims,³⁸ the Princess Anna Komnene, Theodora Rhaulaina,³⁹ the learned philologist, epistolographer and hagiographer at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and a couple of more obscure figures. Equally well-known is the background of these poor statistics: Byzantine women who aspired to learning or even modest education met with difficulties which must often have been insuperable. This seems to be true even for the social and cultural

³⁸ See the monograph by I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin, 1967); further E. Catafygiotou-Topping, 'Women Hymnographers in Byzantium', *Δίπτυχα Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μελετητῶν*, 3 (1982—83), 98—111 (adding three more obscure names, all nuns, like Kassia). Kassia is among the women who figure in Byzantine bride-shows. As was the case with Irene, superior qualities (in Kassia her wit) made her a loser in the contest; cf. Rydén, 'The Bride-shows . . .' (note 8, *supra*), 187 f.

³⁹ On this learned lady, the appreciated correspondent of Maximos Planoudes and Nikephoros Choumnos, see D.M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100—1460* (Washington D.C., 1968), 16—18; Talbot, 'Bluestocking Nuns', 605 f. Her contribution to hagiography is a *Life of Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi*.—The letters of Princess Irene (Eulogia) Choumnaina Palaiologina, daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, to her second spiritual director are better seen as personal psychological documents than as literature. In fact, Irene-Eulogia's education must have been surprisingly poor; see A.C. Hero, 'Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople', *ByzF*, 9 (1985), 119—147 (with refs. to earlier lit.); Talbot, art.cit., 606 f.

élite of Constantinople, although a change for the better appears to have begun in the eleventh century.⁴⁰

Evidence mainly from later periods suggests that literacy, at an elementary level at least, was generally encouraged or required from women living in nunneries in the capital.⁴¹ In fact, for women who wished to improve and activate their literacy, the freedom to do so was perhaps greater in the closed but relatively autonomous world of a nunnery than in the isolation of the gynaeceum, however luxurious.

Since the literacy presupposed in the later documents is connected with some basic activities of a monastic community, e.g. assisting in the liturgy

⁴⁰ Cf. A. Laiou, 'The Role of Women in Byzantine Society', *JÖB*, 31/1 (1981), 233—260, esp. 253 ff. (section 'Literacy'). Even the young Anna Komnene had difficulties. She is said to have studied secretly and against her parents' wishes (Laiou, art.cit., 254). This may be an exaggeration (it is found in the funeral oration on Anna by George Tornikes, so it is meant as praise), but nonetheless provides evidence of the fact that learning was not among the virtues of Byzantine women. See also the refs. in next note.

⁴¹ See Talbot, 'Bluestocking Nuns', 608 f.; also the same author's 'A Comparison of the Monastic Experience . . .' (note 31, *supra*), 12 f., emphasizing the absence of scribes and artists and the general lack of intellectual activities as characteristic of nunneries as compared with male monasteries. A somewhat more positive picture emerges from A. Weyl Carr, 'Women and Monasticism . . .' (note 31, *supra*), esp. 4—10. Examples from hagiography include *Act-AnastPers*, ed. Usener 15a, 15 ff.: a Syrian bishop (of the seventh century) sends his daughter to a convent in Rome to learn τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα. In the ninth century the seven-year-old Theodora of Thessalonica had already learnt τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα καὶ μέρος τι τῆς ψαλμωδομένης γραφῆς (*VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 3, ch. 5 [Kurtz, 3,25]), and similar information is given about the Empress Theophano in *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz 3, 20 ff. Literacy provided by such education must have remained at a modest level. Representative achievements might include the *Narratio de translatione S. Olympiadis* by the abbess Sergia (*BHG*³ 1376), written in Constantinople in the seventh century. It is a short, verbose and repetitive text which lacks any literary merit. Curiously, in its eight pages Sergia's own name occurs ten times.—The author of the *Martyrium of St Febronia* (*BHG*³ 659) pretends to be an eye-witness called Thomais, allegedly a nun in Febronia's convent in Mesopotamia under Diocletian. This authorship is obviously fictitious however, since the text, perhaps translated from a Syriac original, seems to have been written in the sixth or seventh century; cf. J. Simon, 'Note sur l'original de la Passion de sainte Fébronie', *AnalBoll*, 42 (1924), 69—76.

The recent editor of the *Life of St Athanasia of Aegina* proposes female authorship for her text: *VAthanasAeg*, ed. Carras, Introd., 210, note 6. Her arguments are that the author does not tell anything about himself, including name and profession; that he does not distance himself from the lament of the nuns at Athanasia's deathbed; and that he refers to Athanasia as 'our blessed mother'. The first point is hardly an argument at all (cf. the case of the abbess Sergia just cited); as for the second, the author relates the lament in direct speech without any sign of commitment, and a statement of distance would only have been awkward; finally, phrases like 'our blessed mother' are too conventional to permit conclusions about the author. What seems conclusive is the fact that the author refers to himself in the masculine (Carras, *ibid.*).

and administrating the economy, it would be natural if similar prerequisites had to be met by the nuns of Chrysobalanton as well. About Irene herself we learn that, as a young nun, she read extensively in the Bible and the 'Lives of the Fathers' (VI, 16,17—18). Later, on receiving a letter from the Emperor, she wrote him an answer 'in her own hand' (98,18). This phrase might indicate that Irene was a clever saint, but not much more than that. In the author's view her letter is certainly not an unrealistic achievement but rather a natural measure to take in the context.

It would be interesting to know whether Byzantine texts by known female authors exhibit any characteristic traits which distinguish them from the vast majority of 'male' literature and which VI could either be shown to accord with or differ from. As far as I know the material has not yet been studied from this point of view. In the absence of such a study it might be useful to point out one or two particulars which may be relevant to the question as far as VI is concerned, although they by no means present any conclusive evidence for an answer.

Irene spent almost her entire adult life in Constantinople, and so probably did the author. Still, VI betrays an extremely poor acquaintance with the city, and topographical details are almost entirely absent; the exception is the scarce information given about the situation of Chrysobalanton (14,1—3, 92,21—22). In fact Irene leaves her convent only once, reluctantly, to have her young disciple from Cappadocia healed from erotic possession by the Virgin at Blachernai (VI, chapter 13), a church situated not very far from the convent. Not even in this chapter, however, do we learn what the city outside the convent looked like. This apparent lack of interest in, and knowledge of the city outside could be taken to reflect a female rather than a male experience.

Another indication is provided by the same chapter. It tells the story of a young couple who are separated as the girl, for unexplained reasons, enters religion. It might be argued that the extensive narrative about this situation has a natural place in the Life of a female saint. Nevertheless, the description of the girl's behaviour which is included in this account seems remarkable. 'The girl', we read, 'was unexpectedly attacked by a seething passion which maddened her with a frantic lust for her former suitor and did not allow her to control herself. Violently leaping, screaming, moaning, crying, and calling out his name in a loud voice, she assured with fearful oaths that unless someone let her see him with her eyes and enjoy to excess his sight and conversation, she would hang herself', etc. (VI, 52,22 ff.). Even if we grant that these reactions are the result of magic and the description of them therefore conforms to certain conventional ideas of demoniac behaviour, it is still true

that the author here gives a credible picture of a young woman desperately in love with a man from whom she has been separated. It would seem that a reasonable way of accounting both for the very presence of this description in the story and the credibility with which it has been executed is to refer to a background of female experience.⁴²

The preceding discussion cannot, of course, lead to any safe conclusions. As a reasonable hypothesis, however, which does not, so far, seem to be contradicted by the evidence, I would propose that the author of VI was a female member of the Gouber family. She must have belonged to the leading women of that family as well as of Chrysobalanton; perhaps she was the foundress and abbess of the convent. Irene was conceived as her ideal counterpart and model, distant enough to be used as a mouthpiece for her own veiled interests.⁴³

4. Literary Aspects

Although VI, according to the interpretation suggested in the preceding sections of this Chapter, reflects real events and conditions, it is best regarded as a hagiographic novel, in the framework of which these are embedded. This framework shows influences from various literary sources, not only the

⁴² This episode has been compared with a similar story in the seventh-century *ActAnastPers* (cf. note 1 on VI, ch. 13). In this context rather the contrasts are noteworthy. In the older text a bishop has put his beautiful young daughter in a convent (in Rome) in order to get rid of the numerous suitors bothering him. Suddenly his daughter appears to be possessed by an evil spirit who, for some reason (εἰ τε ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δοκιμασίας εἰ τε ἐκ τινος ἀμελείας τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς; text. cit., ed. Usener 15b,1—2) begins to 'shake her and break her down' (διασεῖν καὶ διατῆκιν; *ibid.*, lines 5—6). We may guess something about the cause, but the author is either not aware of it or just reticent. We learn still less about the girl's feelings and reactions in her obviously depressing situation. Instead it is her father, the bishop, who appears as victim of the disaster: ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἤρξατο στενοῦσθαι λίαν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦν ἀνάγκη ἐν ταῖς ἐνδοθεν δόξαις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς . . . , etc. (*ibid.*, lines 9—11). The girl is represented merely as the passive mouthpiece and dwelling-place of the demon and lacks any expression of an individuality of her own. In fact she is so unimportant throughout the extensive narrative that the reader may sometimes forget her existence.

⁴³ Cf. the recent interpretation of Psellos's *Life of St Auxentios* by A. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical Notes. 3. An Attempt at Hagio-Autobiography: the Pseudo-Life of "Saint" Psellus?', *Byz.* 53 (1983), 546—556. Although the differences between Psellos's work and VI are more striking than the similarities, it is interesting to note the way in which both authors could distance themselves from the traditional functions of the genre.

hagiographic tradition. The influences are discernible in minor details, such as phraseology, as well as in the development of some traditional literary motifs. They seem to be less responsible for the overall structure of the *Vita*.

Apart from quotations and reminiscences of Bible passages, in which *VI* abounds, there are few cases in which the literary dependence can be referred to one specific source.⁴⁴ There is one word-for-word quotation from an ascetic treatise by Basil the Great (at 64,13), and another from an unidentified author (at 20,20). For many of the other parallels indicated in the notes on the translation the references do not claim to establish a direct dependence, but only to hint at the literary background of some traditional material. However some safe statements can be made.

That the author of *VI* had some knowledge of patristic literature is proved already by the quotation from Basil the Great just mentioned. Further indications point to John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and, in particular, Gregory of Nazianzus.⁴⁵ Although reminiscences of the Cappadocian Fathers are found in numerous hagiographic texts, they must have made rather difficult reading for an average literate Byzantine and therefore presuppose a relatively high standard of literary education. Since *VI* shows no trace of Classical, pagan learning, the Cappadocians are likely to represent the upper limit of the author's ability to read and digest archaizing literature. The rhetorical devices used throughout the *Vita*, and used abundantly, are mostly simple, the most common being the juxtaposition of assonant words (cf. the references in the Grammatical Index, s.v. *assonance*); they do not presuppose a formal training in rhetoric.

A certain knowledge of tenth-century historiography is apparent in some parts of *VI* (cf. especially chapters 1 and 12). This may seem only natural in view of the content of these passages. But the very fact that the author drew on the past is worth noting. It may be seen as an expression, although on a very modest scale, of the same retrospective tendency which in the hagiography of the tenth century manifested itself above all in the work of Symeon Metaphrastes.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ To trace literary sources traditionally belongs to the duties of an editor of Byzantine texts. The results of this activity are not always as instructive as they might seem; indeed, they may be positively misleading. Cf. the discussion by H.-G. Beck, 'Von der Liebe zu den Byzantinern', in: *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko* . . . (1983), 27–50, esp. 29–33.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. Noret, 'Grégoire de Naziance, l'auteur le plus cité, après la Bible, dans la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine', in: *II. Symposium Nazianzenum. Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981. Actes* . . . éd. par J. Mossay (Paderborn, München, Wien & Zürich, 1983), 259–266.

⁴⁶ That historical interest and not only stylistic ambition directed Metaphrastes's work has

It goes without saying that the hagiographic tradition is omnipresent in *VI*. This is only the more natural with a fictitious text such as this *Vita*, which derives its inspiration from literary model saints rather than from a real saintly woman. The parallel texts include hagiographic classics such as the *Vita Antonii* and Theodoret's *Historia religiosa*, as well as contemporary, i.e. Middle Byzantine, texts. The renewal of the genre in the ninth–tenth centuries included, *inter alia*, the exploitation of hagiography to serve private and sometimes secular interests.⁴⁷ With its aristocratic background *VI* represents this new tendency. The Lives of the upper-class hermit Michael Maleinos and the Empress Theophano, e.g., belong to the same group of texts. Most were written in Constantinople, but neither the saints nor their Lives conform to a uniform pattern although they show some common traits.⁴⁸ Thus, Michael Maleinos abandoned the world to live as a genuine hermit in the mountains of Asia Minor. Theophano, on the other hand, did hardly anything that, while adding to her saintliness, would have been out of place in an empress. Irene unites characteristics of both: living in the capital she keeps constant contact with her relatives, including her sister, through whom she even entertains connections with the imperial family. At the same time she practices ascetic exercises as severe as those which made the Desert Fathers famous, and performs miracles worthy of any saint of the earlier periods.

The attempt to adapt traditional hagiographic elements to a milieu very different from that to which they originally belonged has had curious results. Some examples will illustrate the point.

As a young nun Irene begins her exercises by imitating the famous Egyptian hermit Arsenios, whose Life she happens to read (*VI*, chapter 5). This austere saint may have been a realistic model for an ascetic of the Greek countryside such as Nikon 'Metanoëite'; that he should have played the same role to an upper-class girl who shortly before had been regarded as 'the prob-

been shown in a recent article by W. Lackner, 'Zu Editions-geschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen der Passio S. Polyeucti des Symeon Metaphrastes', in: *Βυζάντιος. Festschrift für H. Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1984), 221–231. On the use of historiographic material by hagiographic writers, see id., 'Die Gestalt des Heiligen in der byzantinischen Hagiographie des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 523–536, esp. 523–525.

⁴⁷ See Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir'.

⁴⁸ See L. Rydén, 'New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress* (note 46, *supra*), 537–554.

able fiancée of the Emperor' (VI, 12,5) seems an almost bizarre idea, and the performance is hardly convincing.⁴⁹

In VI, chapter 11, we read about a fire caused by a demon, which nearly causes the death of the holy woman. Several details certainly offend a modern reader, but even apart from the standards of modern sensitivity one is probably justified in regarding some of them as strangely inappropriate to the context. The smoke of Irene's burnt flesh (46,10), her harsh words of reproach to the nun who saves her life (46,21 ff.) and the painful procedure of pulling away the glowing remnants of her clothes from her burnt body (48,5 ff.) form a scene which seems to show more interest in torture than in the conditions of sanctity in a nunnery of ninth—tenth-century Constantinople.

Chapter 14 of the *Vita* applies to Irene the commonplace of abundant shedding of tears as a sign of compunction (perhaps another trait inherited from Arsenios; cf. note 2 on chapter 14). But Irene's tears pass any reasonable measure: not only do they soak all her clothes and wet the floor beneath her, but fill to the brim and even overflow a hole made in the floor especially for the purpose (66,9). This hole, moreover, seems to derive from an old hagiographic motif which our author has transformed in such a way that its real point has been lost (cf. note 6 ad loc.). Such a description, as well as the two chapters 5 and 11 just mentioned, overshoot the mark, if the mark is to convince the reader that Irene was a real saint. From this point of view a similar lack of psychological realism is inherent in the description of Irene practicing her gift of clairvoyance (VI, chapter 9, with note 3), and of the grotesque effects on her arms ensuing from her extreme asceticism (VI, chapter 16, with note 1).

An explanation of oddities such as these readily presents itself, namely that they are the consequence of an ambition to describe an ideal way of life of which the author had no real knowledge and understanding. His or her intentions were sincere but were not credibly realized; in consequence these uneasy tensions in the structure of the *Vita* are too obvious.

Some passages may seem odd and inappropriate to their contexts for other reasons than those just discussed. One notable case is the short episode told

⁴⁹ *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 24,10—15. Female saints very rarely appear as genuine hermits after the early Christian period. See Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir', 94, and especially the illustrative survey by A.-M. M. Talbot, 'A Comparison of the Monastic Experience . . .' (note 31, *supra*), 16—18, who refers (p. 17) the realistic advice to Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina by her spiritual director, not to take the Desert Fathers as ascetic models.

in chapter 17. It gives a proof of the gift of second sight of which the Saint makes constant use (cf. especially chapters 9, 12, 22, and 23). Here it is surprising to find it illustrated against the trivial background of a mouse defiling the sanctuary of the conventual church and eventually found dead through a supernatural intervention by the holy woman. The scene is strange, and this impression is strengthened by the position of the episode between two of the most sublime events in Irene's life as it is presented to us: her levitation in front of two bowing cypresses (in chapter 16) and her reception of a messenger from Paradise (in chapter 18). In such a context it is curious to read the concluding comment by the priest who is present at the incident: 'Wonderful is God in His saints'. This statement could be better justified than it is here.

Such cases of either exaggeration or trivialization of Irene's saintly activities are not favourable to the modern reader's appreciation of the literary structure of VI. But the impression they convey of structural looseness and even disintegration may be characteristic of medieval literature in general.

However, as I have tried to show earlier in this Chapter (cf. *supra*, section 2, end), the overall structure of the *Vita* according to my interpretation displays, despite this looseness, a surprising amount of literary consciousness and skill. This impression is also borne out by a number of single sections of the text.

It may be significant that it is difficult to find any literary models at all for the most impressive scenes. Above all this is true for parts of chapter 21. The vivid representation of the arrival of the Emperor's men with their horses and their magnificent clothing, of the impression they make on the convent community, and of their meeting with Irene in the church (text, 94,10 ff.) probably belongs to the best achievements of Byzantine literature of this period. The same may be said about parts of the initial chapters. Their mixture of historiography, hagiographic themes and fairy tale introduces the reader into the story with a narrative skill which leaves the average Byzantine hagiographer far behind.

Another such passage accompanies a rather conventional scene in which Irene levitates (text, 76,15 ff.; cf. note 4 ad loc.). Suspended in the air the Saint is greeted by two cypresses which bow their crowns in reverence before her until she makes the sign of the cross on each of them. Afterwards the trees are seen to be decorated with silk-webs 'bringing amazing delight to the spectators'. Whereas parallels to the bowing trees may be found (cf. note 5 ad loc.), this is not, as far as I have seen, the case with the romance-like development with the silk-webs. If the author had literary models here, they are not likely to have been hagiographic. But the source may have been of

another kind, e.g. a figural representation. In any case the scene has a peculiar charm.

The two life-like episodes concerning the cure of erotic possession in chapters 13 and 15 also belong in this context. Although largely conventional in their structure, like so many descriptions of exorcism in hagiography, they abound in concrete and realistic detail in a way that gives them a colourful individual character.

A final example favouring a positive judgment on the literary qualities of *VI* is the elaborate story about the apples sent to Irene by St John the Theologian as a foretaste of the good things awaiting her after death (*VI*, chapter 18). Several old themes are interwoven here (cf. note 1 ad loc.), but they are combined in an original way testifying to the author's creativity.

The impression created by these contradictory elements may be puzzling. On the one hand, the structure of *VI* as a whole is rather sophisticated and betrays an inventiveness which has left its marks also on the most happily composed single episodes; on the other hand elements essential for *VI* as a hagiographical composition have been incompetently designed and imperfectly, or not at all, integrated. From an aesthetic point of view these contradictions are irreconcilable, and we will have to be content with stating the ambivalent character of the *Vita*. Psychologically, however, this character does not have to remain unexplained. According to the interpretation of *VI* proposed here the author's inspiration did not derive from any living 'hagiographic' context: there never was a Saint Irene whose life could be remembered either directly by the author or through her own disciples. Instead, for important parts of the hagiographic framework the author relied on imitation of literary models. Sometimes they were misunderstood and, we may assume, included in the new literary structure under pressure from the traditions of the genre rather than by choice of material relevant to the author's real interests. It is only natural that the imitation of such models was less provocative of the author's creativity than the representation of scenes and events derived from personal experience and sometimes given additional vividness by a personal commitment, albeit alien to the traditional scope of hagiography.

CHAPTER II. The Textual Tradition

1. The Manuscripts

VI has been transmitted by seven manuscripts known to the present editor. The collations have been performed by means of microfilms; therefore the descriptions of the MSS, which follow in alphabetical order, will generally be brief and in part rely on secondary literature. For the purpose of this edition full codicological analyses would be superfluous.

1. Athos, *Dionysiou* 151, 17th c. This is a codex made up of two separate MSS. It is the first of these which contains *VI*. It is written on paper in one col. of 25—26 lines and bears the date 20 July 1610.¹ The copyist was the hieromonk Ignatios of Dionysiou, whose signature is found in a number of MSS still preserved at the monastery.² Lit.: Lampros, Vol. 1, p. 347 (no. 3685).

¹ The date is given after text no. 2, the *Passio Panteleemonis* (finished a week before the Saint's day, 27 July), and is not necessarily valid for the following six texts, including *VI*. The circumstances rather suggest that the copyist made a pause of some length before proceeding to copy *VI*.

² See the Πίναξ βιβλιογράφων in Lampros, Vol. 2, 575, and most recently N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Dionysiou* (Paris, 1968), 14, note 48 (with an incomplete list of relevant Dionysiou MSS). This Ignatios is the seventh in Lampros' list. Unfortunately he is not presented by Lampros as an Athonite monk but as a monk of Chios, tentatively and wrongly identified with Ignatios Petritzis, the author of the Oxford version of *Digenis Akritas* written in 1670. What appears from notes in some MSS containing Modern Greek Lives by Ignatios (e.g., Dionysiou 230, Iviron 385 and 496, Stavronikita 94) is that he was a native of Chios, living as a monk and scribe in Dionysiou where a scribal school had been established towards the end

The MS is mutilated in the beginning and at the end. In its present state it contains the Lives of Sts Eupraxia, Panteleimon, Irene, and Athanasios of Constantinople, and in addition some texts by Gregory of Nazianzus, Symeon Metaphrastes, and Neilos Kabasilas. *VI* occupies fols. 45–81.

The Lives of Eupraxia, Panteleimon and Athanasios appear in Modern Greek versions by the copyist himself. They proved a success on Mount Athos and were copied there several times in the seventeenth century. Lampros alone lists copies in 26 Athonite MSS;³ in most of them the text reproduced is the *Life of Eupraxia*. For some reason Ignatios did not bother to translate *VI* as well into a linguistically more accessible form. As will be seen, the need for such a translation was more strongly felt by the monk Agapios some fifty years later (section 2, *infra*).

It will appear that Dionysiou 151 presents an apograph of *VI* in Pantokrator 6 (section 3, *infra*); thus it will not be used for the constitution of the text of this edition.

- I 2. Athos, *Iviron* 905, fols. 1–45, 15th c. A paper MS, c. 19 x 12,5 cm., written in one col. of 19–27 lines. It is the first part of a codex containing a total of 233 fols.⁴ Its second part was dated by Ehrhard to the fourteenth

of the sixteenth c.; see L. Politis, 'Persistances byzantines dans l'écriture liturgique du XVII^e siècle', in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 371–381, esp. 372. In 1619 he seems for some reason to have been staying in his native island where he copied four works of the contemporary Chian scholar and physician George Koressios (1570–1660; cf. B. Knös, *Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque. La période jusqu'en 1821* [Uppsala, 1962], 432 f.). After the first of these four texts, which are now incorporated into Dionysiou 150, he noted: [date] διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς Ἰγνατίου ἐλαχίστου τοῦ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, ἤτοι τοῦ κυρ Διονυσίου, ἐν Χίῳ τῇ νήσῳ. It was probably the last words of this note that misled Lampros. The instigation for copying Koressios's texts may have been a personal meeting with the author, for after being a professor of Greek at Pisa, where he had unsuccessfully entered on a dispute with Galilei, he was back in Chios about 1620 (Knös, loc. cit.), which might include 1619.

³ Vol. 2, 519. The presence of Ignatios's version of *VEuprax* may suggest Athonite provenance for Paris. gr. 1632 (16th c.); cf. the refs. in Ehrhard, Vol. 3, 892, note 4.

⁴ Thus according to information on the microfilm (photographed in 1970) kindly provided by the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies at Thessalonica. Ehrhard (loc. cit., note 2) states that the second part of the MS comprises fols. 43–448. The number 43 is a mistake, although not Ehrhard's own. In fact there are two series of foliation. One is marked in the upper right corner of every tenth fol., the other in the lower right corner of every fifth fol. As far as the first part of the MS is concerned, the former series is correct throughout, whereas the latter is wrong from fol. 15 on. This number is found on the actual fol. 18 (and the number 20 on fol. 23, etc.), which explains Ehrhard's error. But what about his 448 fols.? It seems reasonable

century; it contains four texts for various feasts. Lit.: Lampros, Vol. 2, p. 235 (no. 5025); Ehrhard, Vol. 3, p. 977.

The first part of I contains only *VI* and the *akolouthia* for Irene's day. It is mutilated at the beginning, and the text of *VI* on fol. 1 starts with the words τῷ μετρίῳ τοῦ φρονήματος (p. 16,28 in this edition).⁵ This would correspond to a loss of the first five fols. *VI* ends on fol. 38, and fols. 38–45 are occupied by the *akolouthia*. Probably no text originally preceded *VI*, so that I fits well into the category of MSS to which it is assigned by Ehrhard, i.e. the small books for liturgical use containing an *akolouthia* for the day of a saint together with some hagiographic material, e.g., a Life (cf. no. 6, *infra*).

I is the most carelessly copied MS in the tradition of *VI*. The form and size of individual letters as well as the distribution of text over the pages are uneven. The orthography is wild and a variety of corruptions occur (cf. *infra*, section 3).

- K 3. Athos, *Koutloumousiou* 208, 15th c. A 4to MS of 222 paper fols., written in one col. of 33 lines. Lit.: Lampros, Vol. 1, p. 297 (no. 3281); Ehrhard, Vol. 3, pp. 907–908.

K is a collection of texts for the feasts of mainly female saints arranged as a menologion. It is now lacunose but seems to have covered the whole year.⁶ In its present form it has the Life of one male saint (that of Stephen the Younger) inserted among those of sixteen females. *VI* covers fols. 178–198. The special character of the texts of K would indeed seem to indicate that its origin was in a female monastery. Ehrhard's guess that it was copied for Irene's convent was however based on an error;⁷ unfortunately, its provenance remains unknown.

to assume that the most recent piece of information is right and that Ehrhard for some reason is wrong. This would be in accord with the content of the second part of the MS as reported by Lampros (loc. cit.). None of these texts is very voluminous, the largest being the *De inventione crucis* by Alexandros Monachos (BHG³ 410) which occupies about 70 cols. in PG, and they could hardly fill over 400 fols.

⁵ This explains why Lampros (loc. cit.) failed to identify this text with *VI*, calling it a λόγος πανηγυρικός.

⁶ The MS is apparently intact for the period of September–December (or even January?; cf. Ehrhard, loc. cit.). Then, after a lacuna, July is represented by two texts and after another lacuna, August only by one.

⁷ According to Ehrhard, Vol. 3, 908, note 2, *VI* is followed on fols. 198–201 by liturgical texts for Irene's day, but this seems not to be the case. These fols. contain a sequence of καθίσματα κατανοητικά of a general character; they lack any reference to Irene.

K has suffered damage, seemingly from moisture, which has affected the inner margins where the text is sometimes illegible. K presents a careful copy of *VI*, with very few corruptions and good orthography.

- P 4. Athos, *Pantokrator* 6, 14th c. A 4to volume of 319 parchment fols., written in two cols. of 42 lines. Lit.: Lampros, Vol. 1, pp. 92—94 (no. 1040); Ehrhard, Vol. 3, pp. 216—217; Talbot, 'Bluestocking Nuns', pp. 609—610.

P is a collection of panegyrics for the whole year, with a strong admixture of Metaphrastic texts. In its present form it is mutilated, the original codex having suffered a loss of about one-third of its leaves. These missing leaves are now part of *Pantokrator* 3. Together with P they constitute a codex of more than 477 fols. containing 96 texts. *VI* is now no. 53 of the 64 texts in P and occupies fols. 249—264^v.⁸ In the original codex it bore the number 86, as noted on top of each leaf, but this must be corrected to 87 since 86 erroneously repeats the number of the preceding text.

This MS was commissioned by Anna-Antonia Komnene Rhaulaina Strategopoulina who donated it to her convent Χριστοῦ τοῦ κραταίου at Constantinople.⁹ According to the recent prosopographer of Anna's family, she was 'most probably' the wife of the *prōtostratōr* Michael Strategopoulos, who was imprisoned for conspiracy by Andronikos II in 1291 and died in prison in 1300.¹⁰ It is reasonable to assume that she founded her monastery soon after this event. If the identification of Anna as Michael's wife is right, there are certain similarities between her situation and that of the family of the Emperor's prisoner as described in the long

⁸ According to Lampros, 248—263^v. This however represents an older foliation which has subsequently been changed as indicated, presumably because it proved to be wrong.

⁹ See the annotation on fol. 3, printed in Lampros, Vol. 1, 94. On the monastery, see Janin, *Siège de Cple*, 510—511. As S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens, 1974), 32, note 5, observes, Janin did not use P as a source for this article. He did use it however (and this Fassoulakis does not observe) as sole source for a ghost monastery, τοῦ Σωτήρος no. 24 (p. 524; the MS is erroneously called *Pantokrator* 7). Apparently Janin did not see κραταίου in the annotation in P and thus failed to make the right identification. Talbot, loc. cit., repeats this mistake and fails to see, therefore, that *Pantokrator* 6 (+ 3) derives from the same convent as another MS adduced by her, the Vaticanus gr. 677. I am indebted to Professor Robert Browning, London, for kindly providing photocopies of the relevant pages of Fassoulakis's book.

¹⁰ S. Fassoulakis, op. cit. (preceding note), superseding A. Ch. Chatzes, *Oi 'Paoul, 'Pal, 'Palai (1080—1800)* (Kirchhain, 1909), 37—38 (no. 29). On the vivid interest in monastic life and ideals shown by aristocratic women of the fourteenth century, see E. Patlagean, 'Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IX^e—XX^e siècle)', in: *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, a cura di S. Boesch Gajano & L. Sebastiani (Rome, 1984), 39—67, esp. 54—56.

chapter 21 of *VI*. There seems to be some need to account for the presence of *VI* in P. The MS contains, besides texts for the movable feasts, a relatively small number of texts for saints' days. These concern mainly major saints such as Demetrios (no. 9), Nicholas (no. 16), Prokopios (no. 48), Panteleimon (no. 51), etc. As far as I can see, there is none comparable to the obscure figure of Irene. Ehrhard apparently felt this and explained the curious fact by reference to 'Rücksicht auf die Bestimmung der Hs' (viz., a female monastery). Perhaps this explanation could be made more precise by adding a reference to Anna's interest in an old story reminiscent of her own fate.

- S 5. Athos, *Stavronikita* 18, 13th c.¹¹ A 4to volume of 443 parchment fols., written in two cols. of 32 lines. Lit.: Lampros, Vol. 1, p. 76 (no. 883); Ehrhard, Vol. 3, pp. 42—44.

S is a menologion for the period February—August. The majority of texts are Metaphrastic, but a number of non-Metaphrastic texts have been added, some inserted in their regular places, others appended together after 29 August. *VI* is among the latter, being no. 42 among 44 texts and occupying fols. 397—426.

S has copied *VI* very carefully. Deviations from normal orthography are few and slight, although a number of individual errors occur. Its age taken into account, this MS must a priori be regarded as a major source of the text of *VI*.

- V 6. Athos, *Vatopedi* 93, 13th c. A volume of 56 parchment fols.,¹² c. 17 x 12,5 cm., written in one col. of 18 lines. Lit.: S. Eustratiades & Arcadios of Vatopedi, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 26; Ehrhard, Vol. 3, p. 977.

This MS has been subject to severe damage. The first discernible fragments of *VI* can be identified with the text beginning at p. 68,22 of this edition.

¹¹ This is the dating of Ehrhard, Vol. 3, 42, note 1, who refers, *inter alia*, to a text by George of Cyprus, Patriarch of Constantinople 1283—1289. Lampros had dated this MS to the eleventh century without giving any details about its contents.

¹² The number of fols. together with other data about the MS is given on the microfilm put at my disposal by the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies at Thessalonica. It cannot, however, be verified by the film itself which reproduces only 44 fols., none of which shows any traces of foliation. Unfortunately, this makes it impossible to refer to V by fols.

It is improbable that any text originally preceded *VI* (cf. no. 2 *supra*, on I). Since V contains about forty per cent of the whole text distributed over thirty fols., it must have lost its forty-five or so first fols. Of the actual MS, moreover, the first eleven fols. are damaged to a degree gradually decreasing from the first, on which practically nothing is legible, to the eleventh, where the loss of text is minimal. The damage appears as a loss of the upper part of the fols., but its exact nature is impossible to determine from a microfilm. Further damage has affected the two texts following *VI*, viz. an *akolouthia* for Irene's day (cf. *infra*, Appendix C) and a condensed version of *VI* (a *diaskeuê* or *vita brevior*). Since the beginning of the latter text is missing, and perhaps the end of the former, one fol. or more must have been lost between them. As the last fragments of the *diaskeuê* seem to correspond approximately to *VI* 74,15—28 of this edition, V is likely to have lost its final fols. as well. Finally, in at least one case there is a loss of text within the *akolouthia* which cannot be explained otherwise than by a loss of one or more fols. It is impossible, however, to make definite statements about the nature and extent of these losses without direct access to the MS.¹³

- L 7. Florence, *Laurentianus X 31*, 15th c. (not before 1422).¹⁴ A paper volume of 335 fols., c. 21 x 14,5 cm., written in one col. of 21 lines by several contemporary hands. Lit.: A.M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae . . . , Codices graeci*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1764), pp. 495—496; Ehrhard, Vol. 3, pp. 290—291; Fr. Halkin, 'Les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne à Florence. Inventaire hagiographique', *AnalBoll*, 96 (1978), p. 26.

L is a collection for use in liturgy¹⁵ consisting mainly of homilies and encomia, with some exceptions chronologically arranged. The authors include Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, John Euchaïtes, Patriarch Germanos, Theodore Daphnopates, Demetrios Chrysoloras. There are a few saints' Lives and Acts of martyrs: besides Irene,

¹³ The microfilm is of poor quality. Especially the first lacuna in the text of the *akolouthia* reinforces the suspicion that the film may not be a complete reproduction of the actual MS since the loss appears between a *recto* and a *verso* (not vice versa!).

¹⁴ The *terminus post quem* is provided by a *didaskalia* on the siege of Constantinople in 1422 by Dorotheos of Mytilene; see Ehrhard, loc. cit., note 4.

¹⁵ Cf. Ehrhard, loc. cit., end. Ehrhard seems to mean that the initial formula has the form δέσποτα εὐλόγησον throughout L. This is not true for *VI*, which has εὐλόγησον πάτερ, and for the following text, John Euchaïtes's Homily on the *koimêsis*, which has merely εὐλόγησον.

Demetrios, Theodore (*stratêlatês*), Nicholas of Myra, St George (miracles). *VI* is no. 20 of L's twenty-two texts and occupies fols. 249—303^v. It is by far the most comprehensive of L's texts, which makes its presence in this MS perhaps even more remarkable than is the case with P (cf. *supra*, no. 4). Unfortunately we do not know more about the provenance of L than that it was copied in Constantinople,¹⁶ so the reason why *VI* was chosen to be its *pièce de résistance* remains obscure.

2. Editions and Translations

The *editio princeps* of *VI* along with a Latin translation of the text was printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. 6 (Antwerp, 1729), pp. 602—634, with an introduction on pp. 600—602; the text was reproduced in the second (Venice, 1749) and third (Paris, 1868) editions of the same volume. The editor, Ioannes Pinius (Jean Pien), based his text on the Laurentianus X 31. Most of the errors of that MS were reproduced without change; in some cases attempts were made to emend corrupt or seemingly corrupt passages, mostly without a satisfying result;¹⁷ several new faults were added by misprint or misreading of the MS.¹⁸ The division of the text into chapters and paragraphs is the editor's own.

The *editio princeps* has apparently failed to draw much attention to *VI*. As far as the present editor knows, the text has never reached the public in any other form than the heavy volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Migne's failure to include it in his *Patrologia Graeca* was perhaps because the *Vita* was supposed to lack any historical value. Subsequent generations of scholars seem to have judged similarly.

¹⁶ This appears from the title of the text mentioned in note 14, *supra*: Δωροθέου . . . διδασκαλία λεχθεῖσα, ὅτε ἡ ἐφοδος ἐγένετο . . . κατὰ ταύτης τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων, κτλ.

¹⁷ Some examples from the first few pages of the *editio princeps* may illustrate this. At 603A (= 4,19 of this ed.), the lacuna of L (*infra*, section c) has been filled up with εἰς; at 603C (= 6,30) the trivial misspelling εἶδας in L has been corrected to εἶδες (not οἶδας); at 607B (= 18,11), οὐκ has been inserted before ἔληγεν to remove the difficulty of μέχρι = 'not earlier than, as late as'; at 609A (= 24,1) ἄλλη has been changed to ἄλλαι to achieve better accordance with the plural verb; *ibid.* (= 24,14) the text has been unnecessarily completed to (τὸ) τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς οὐσαν (τῇ ἀρετῇ).

¹⁸ Notable is 615A (= 44,20 of this ed.) where the accusative form of Irene's name appears as the unexplained crux εἰρκυκν. Minor faults are legion and need not be exemplified.

The first printed *Life of St Irene of Chrysobalanton* was the Modern Greek version of *VI* by Agapios Landos, the well-known Cretan monk.¹⁹ It appeared in his collection *Καλοκαιρινή*, which includes hagiographic texts in the vernacular for the period of March–August. The first edition of this book was printed in 1656, at Venice, and numerous reprints were made until 1861. The text bears the title ‘Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς ὁσίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν Εἰρήνης ἡγουμένης τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου’. It is strongly abbreviated but retells the content of *VI* fairly accurately.

It has been impossible to determine a model of Agapios’s version among the extant MSS of *VI*. With some certainty, however, P (and its apograph Dionysiou 151), I, and L may be discarded from the discussion for the reason that Agapios has translated some passages omitted in them.²⁰ As regards L, there is the additional reason that it has not, in all probability, belonged to a library on Mount Athos where Agapios is likely to have found his sources. The text of the remaining MSS, V, S, K, gives no such hints. It would seem a reasonable assumption that Agapios used a large collection like S or K rather than a small MS of a single text like V, but it is an assumption which cannot be supported by any evidence.

When Agapios’s own book had ceased to be reprinted, his version of *VI* was included in the well-known *Μέγας Συναξαριστής* by M.K. Doukakes, vol. 11 (first printed in 1893; in the second edition [Athens, 1965], 274–298).²¹ This ensured the *Vita* continued availability, at least to Greek readers, even if the original *VI* remained largely unknown.²²

The version of Agapios was developed in the twentieth century by the monk Viktor Matthaïos who printed it, with some additions and minor changes, in vol. 7 (Μὴν Ἰουλίου) of *Ὁ μέγας συναξαριστής τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1950).²³ This text betrays inspiration

from the cult that Irene began to enjoy in the 1920s, a cult which is virtually the whole ground on which the last item in this list rests: the pamphlet *Βίος καὶ παρακλητικοὶ κανόνες ὁσίας Εἰρήνης Χρυσοβαλάντου* (Lykovrysi, 1979), in which the *Life*, called ὁ ἀπλοῦς βίος, covers pp. 90–153. The circumstances which helped to produce this little book, in a way the successor of the MSS V and I, will be discussed in Appendix B.

3. The *recensio*

The text of *VI* in the youngest of the MSS, the Dionysiou 151, written in 1610, can easily be shown to be an apograph of P with which it shares virtually all individual variants and errors. It is superfluous to cite examples here since the sign P in the critical apparatus in principle will include the Dionysiou MS. There are two exceptions, but these are only the more revealing, for they are corrections of obvious errors in P which have been made without knowledge of the text of ILSK: At 18,10 P’s γὰρ γὰρ for μὲν γὰρ has been changed to γὰρ; at 34,1 P’s incomprehensible εἰ for ἀποτευζόμεθα δὲ καὶ has been emended to εἰς to create the phrase εἰς μάτην.

Dionysiou 151 has nearly sixty cases of deviation from P, e.g. 2,12 βασιλὶς τῷ θεῷ *inv.*; 6,27 ἀφάτου: *add.* σου; 14,16 πρόσγειον: κόσμιον; 14,19–20 καὶ θεῷ προσεγγίζουσιν *om.*; 18,22 πολέμων *om.*; 22,2 εἰς: *add.* τὸν; 26,19 μηδεμίαν: μίαν; 40,2 κατὰ πρόσωπον: τὸ καταπρόσωπον; 48,19 ὀλίγας ἡμέρας *inv.*; 56,15 ἡμῶν *om.*; 72,1 με: *add.* καὶ; 84,14 ἦν: ὄν; 94,5 ὄλον: ὄχλον; 102,21 μὲν: μόνον; 112,11 αὖ *om.* In one such case only does Dionysiou 151 conform to ILSK, viz. at 58,24, where P’s δεσποίνης ἡμῶν has been inverted. This is certainly mere coincidence. On the other hand, at 68,22–23, where ὅθεν . . . ἦν has been omitted, this is most naturally explained by a reference to P in which the omitted phrase occupies exactly one line²⁴ and thus could easily be dropped by the copyist.

Some of the transcription errors have been corrected by a later hand. The corrections, which appear as marginal notes, are obviously the result of a comparison with P.

¹⁹ See the dissertation by D.D. Kostoula, *Αγάπιος Λάνδος ο Κρης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του* (Ioannina, 1983), esp. 152–157; editions of *Καλοκαιρινή* listed 239–245.

²⁰ The relevant passages are 28,3 ὕμνωδίας . . . ἀρξάμενος (*om.* I), 74,27 καὶ . . . ἐκτάσεως (*om.* L), 86,20–21 ταύτην . . . μήτε (*om.* P), 90,26 καὶ . . . ἐξιοῦσαν (*om.* PI), 96,22 ὅσα τε εἶδον (*om.* I).

²¹ I am indebted to the Metropolitan Pavlos, Stockholm, for bibliographical details concerning Doukakes.

²² To M. Gedeon the *Life of Irene* apparently meant only Agapios’s version as printed in the *Καλοκαιρινή* and in Doukakes; cf. *id.*, *BE*, 141, note 138.

²³ I have not seen the edition by S.N. Schoinas, *Ὁ βίος καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῆς ὁσίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν Εἰρήνης [sic] ἡγουμένης τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου [sic]* (Volo, 1951; cited after K.M. Ringrose’s unpublished Rutgers University thesis of 1976, *Saints, Holy Men and Byzantine Society*, 726 to 843, note 52 on p. 45). The date may indicate that it has some connection with the *Μέγας Συναξαριστής* of V. Matthaïos; in any case, the title does not suggest an edition of the original *VI*, nor a book with scholarly ambitions.

²⁴ Fol. 258^v, second col. The phrase was added in the margin by another hand.

It appears that Dionysiou 151 has no value as an independent text witness. Consequently, it will be discarded from the following discussion.

The text will be established on the basis of PIVLSK. P represents a branch of this tradition which can be very clearly distinguished from IVLSK and against which the latter appear as a relatively homogeneous group. To clarify the relationship between these two branches will be the first and crucial step towards the reconstruction of an archetype.

In a number of cases it seems certain or very probable that P exhibits the right text against a faulty or inferior text common to IVLSK:

- 2,5—6 τῷ τοῦ τοῖς ὑπερφάνοις ἀντιτασσομένου νεύματι: τοῦ *om.* LSK(IV *non leg.*).
 4,10 δευτέρα δὲ (cf. line 3, δευτέρα μὲν): δ. καὶ LSK(IV *non leg.*), destroying the symmetry.
 6,13 ὑποστελαιμένη: -στελλομένη LSK(IV *non leg.*), but the phrase seems to call for the aor.; cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑποστέλλω II. 4.
 38,20 ἐπηνώρθουν ἄν: ἄν *om.* ILSK(V *non leg.*), but this seems improbable in view of the coordinated ἄν συνώθουν.
 40,13 (τὰ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς . . . καὶ) τὰ πᾶσι πραττόμενα: τὰ *om.* ILSK(V *non leg.*).
 42,1 ἀπολαῦσαι: ἀπολαύσεσθαι ILSK(V *non leg.*), improbable after ἀκοῦσαι.
 44,20 ξυλίνους: ξύλοις ILSK(V *non leg.*).
 48,6 προσφύντα: -φύσαντα ILSK(V *non leg.*); an intr. use of the sigmatic aor. is improbable and does not seem to be attested.
 50,12 τίνα (. . . ἀντιβῆναι μὴ διακωλύσαι): τίνη ILSK(V *non leg.*); the dative dependent on ἀντιβῆναι is τῷ μέλλοντι κατασχεῖν (prec. line), and διακωλύσαι needs an acc. object²⁵ (cf. *infra* and note ad loc.).
 50,23 διαδεξομένου: -αμένου ILSK(V *non leg.*), a clear fault.
 64,11 θεοῦ: θεὸν καὶ ILSK(V *non leg.*), which makes poor sense.
 66,18 ἔρωτά τινος τῶν . . . ἀσκουμένων: τινος *om.* ILSK(V *non leg.*), but cf. τῇ ποθουμένη (line 21), τῆς ἐρωμένης (line 25).
 88,13 (τῶν . . . φιλουμένων αὐτῇ) συγγενῶν τινά: συγγενῇ IVLSK.

²⁵ A dative with κωλύω would not be unparalleled; see P. Karlin-Hayter in the 'Grammatical Notes' to *VEuthymPatr.*, p. 237. But the result here would be the awkward idea that a woman without any position of power like Irene's sister would need the advice not to offer active resistance against the future usurper of the throne.

90,8 (τάλλα) τὰ (ἐν χερσίν): τῶν IVLSK, but cf. app. crit. ad loc.

94,6 θροηθῆτε: -θείητε IVLSK, probably attracted to the preceding συμβαίη.

96,9 εἰ (δὲ μὴ): ἐὰν IVLSK, unidiomatically.

102,30 δρεπάνην (ἡκονημένην): δρέπανον IVLSK.

In none of these cases, apparently, did the unevenness of the text that IVLSK found in their models startle the copyists enough to induce them to attempt emendation. The character of P's readings, on the other hand, will hardly make a modern editor suspicious. P's text is good in each case, but not stylistically conspicuous. The conclusion must be that, as far as the cited material goes, the model copied by P was of a better quality than the ultimate common source of IVLSK.

In a number of cases however the variants of P against IVLSK are both more distinctively characteristic and less easily judged. Some of the most conspicuous examples must be discussed at length.

- 16,17 The impf. ἐνησχολεῖτο in P is of course what one expects to see coordinated with προσέκειτο. But ἐνησχόλητο (LSK; IV *non leg.*) functioning as impf. is not unparalleled,²⁶ and in this special case there is the rhythmic parallelism with προσέκειτο to add to the credit of the abnormal form.
 16,26 With P's ἐννοοῦσα for προσαποροῦσα a well-known word is substituted for a rare one, the usual meaning of which must in addition be somewhat modified (cf. LSJ, s.v.) to fit the context.
 22,12 The phrase δλην τὴν δλην of ILSK(V *non leg.*), which corresponds to the trivial δλην in P, is formed after a pattern productive in Greek throughout its history. Stylistically the expression belongs rather to a popular than a literary level. Cf. formally similar phrases such as ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρα.²⁷
 30,6—7 The inconcinnity of τῷ βλέποντι . . . (sc. θεῷ), . . . τὸν θεὸν in ILSK(V *non leg.*) is absent in P where τὸν θεὸν is omitted.

²⁶ See Genesios, *Regum libri quattuor*, edd. A. Lesmueller-Werner & I. Thurn (Berlin & New York, 1978), Index graecitatis, p. 117 (no. 8).

²⁷ Modern Greek usage abounds in such expressions; see A. Mirambel, *La langue grecque moderne. Description et analyse* (Paris, 1959), 202—208 (the author gives, *inter alia*, the example of ὅλες ὅλες to illustrate the 'intensive' force of these phrases, p. 205). But the figure is old and its origin is often in popular rather than rhetorical language; cf. F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Bearb. von F. Rehkopf (Göttingen, 1976), § 493,1.2.

- 50,12 Superficially P's omission of *μη διακωλύσαι* makes for an easier and more symmetrical construction. But it is syntactically dubious that the two infinitives dependent on *σκεπτέον σοι* will not have the same subject (in one case to be derived from *σοι*, in the other, *τῶν σῶν τινα συγγενῶν*). For the double negations, cf. text at 100,27—28.
- 60,30 P's omission of *εοικότα* disposes of an abnormal construction (*εοικα* with gen.); but cf. on the text at 108,25—26, *infra*. In fact, *εοικότα* seems to be essential since the meaning of *εἰδωλον* is hardly more than just 'idol' (not 'image [resembling]P').
- 80,13 P's *ἐπιμελουμένην* is the normal form but there are parallels to *ἐπιμελομένην* of IVLSK²⁸ (admittedly, it would be a very easy error).
- 84,18 The reference of the phrase *τοῦτο δὲ μόνον* in IVLSK is not quite clear; possibly it depends on *εἰδυίαις* (and should be followed by a high point), but more probably it loosely introduces the following clause. This complication is absent with P's *ἐν αἰσθήσει δὲ μόνον*.
- 94,23 The rare absolute dative (possibly to be labelled 'causal'?) in IVLSK corresponds to a normal absolute genitive in P. The latter has however the unfortunate effect of destroying the antithetical juxtaposition of the words *λαμπηδόνας ἀλαμπῇ* in IVLSK.
- 98,22 With *ἀλλὰ* IVLSK present an idiomatic but perhaps less elegant phrase. P omits the word.
- 100,1 *ἐλευσόμενος* (followed by *ᾧ*) of IVLSK is undoubtedly a severe fault from a classicist point of view, and P's *ἐλθὼν* right. But in Byzantine texts the use of fut. ptc. denoting not relative but absolute future, often in combination with finite future forms, is not at all uncommon.²⁹
- 108,25—26 The abnormal construction of *εἰκάζω* with acc. is absent in P which omits the whole phrase *τῶν ποταμῶν γὰρ εἰκάζετο ῥεύματα*. The phrase is not essential for the context, but cf. on 60,30, *supra*.

²⁸ P. Karlin-Hayter, op. cit. (note 25, *supra*), 243 (examples with *μεταμελέομαι*).

²⁹ Cf., e.g., *VEuthymPatr.*, ed. Karlin-Hayter 17,25 *τοῦτον ὁψόμενος . . . ἀναμαθήσομαι*; *VMarIun.*, ed. Peeters 705A *τῶν . . . καλῶς βιωσομένων*; also Theodoret, *HRel.*, XV 4,12 f. (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, p. 22), *ἐκδημήσων . . . ἡκιστα . . . ζυγομαχήσω*; 16 *ἀπελεύσομαι καταλείπων* (for *καταλιπὼν*).

The characteristic feature of the cases just cited is that P gives readings which are in accordance with common literary usage, or seems to avoid linguistic or stylistic difficulties present in IVLSK by omitting crucial words or phrases. This impression gains support from considerations about the provenance of P. It would not be surprising if in the fourteenth century a monastery for noble women in the capital should have had texts for its library copied with the ambition of smoothing out anomalies found in the language and style of the old documents. Certainly the literary taste of those nuns was more advanced than that of their sisters at Chrysobalanton 300 years earlier.³⁰

Within the group IVLSK, I distinguishes itself by a large number of individual errors of which the following are the most salient.³¹

- 18,11 *ἐπιούσης*: *ποιούσης*
 18,22 *πολεμῶν*: *παρ' ἡμῶν*
 22,12 *ἐν om.*
 22,16 *ἐν . . . συγγενέσιν om.*
 22,27 *ἡ om.*
 28,3 *ὕμνωδίας . . . ἀρξάμενος om.*
 28,18 *γῆς*: *σῆς*
 30,13 *εἰ om.*
 32,13 *διδασκάλου . . . καὶ om.*
 34,7 *καὶ τρυφᾶν om.*
 34,12 *ἡ om.*
 34,20 *τοῦ om.*
 36,1 *τὴν . . . κατάνυξιν om.*
 38,4 *φύλακές εἰσι*: *φύλακες*
 38,26 *διανενημένων*: *διανεμη-*
 40,5 *τοῦ θεοῦ*: *τῷ θεῷ*
 40,7 *διὰ παντὸς μετὰ σου inv.*
 40,8 *ὕποδεικνύων*: *ἀπο-*

³⁰ As far as I have seen, P has never been used for critical editions of its texts, so that, unfortunately, the hypothesis of a scribe under the influence of a refined literary taste cannot easily be checked with texts other than *VI*. It is however unlikely that much material of the kind would be found since the majority of the pieces must have seemed elegant enough from the beginning: the great number of Chrysostomian texts, the Metaphrastic Lives of saints and Acts of martyrs, the few homilies by John Damascenos, etc.

³¹ Itacisms and other trivial errors have of course been excluded from this list. Errors cited here will not be repeated in the app. crit.

40,10 κολληθῆναι: ἀκολληθῆναι (*sic*)
 40,21 ἐρεθίζουσα: -ουσαν
 40,23 ταύτη: ταῦτα
 42,24 τοῦ *om.*
 42,30 ὥστε *om.*
 44,8 διδασκόμενοι καὶ νοουθετούμενοι *om.*
 44,26 τύπτοντα: -ειν
 46,4 περὶ: ἐπὶ
 48,3 ἀγνωμοσύνης . . . εὐγνωμοσύνην: ἀγνωμοσύνην
 50,23 ἀπαγγέλλοντα: ἐπ-
 50,24 βεβούλευται: βούλεται
 52,4 πέμπτην: πέπτην
 52,11 κατέτηκε: κατέστηκε (*sic*)
 52,25 τὸ: τε
 54,17 ζητῶν: ζητεῖ
 54,26 ὅτι *om.*
 54,27 ὑπολαβέτω: -ωσαν
 54,28 συντελεῖν: -εῖαν
 58,2 ὑποστρέφοντας: ἀπο-
 58,3 τὸ *om.*
 58,16 τὴν τῆς: τῆς
 60,10 ἡμέρα παρασκευὴ *inv.*
 60,20 κατερραίνετο: καταρρ-
 60,23 μηκέτι: μήτε
 60,27 ἀνάψασαι . . . ἥρξαντο *om.*
 60,32 καὶ ἄλλα . . . πονηρίας *om.*
 64,3 θεός: Χριστός
 64,12 ὁσίαν: οὐσίαν
 66,5 συνῆδεν: συνῆγεν
 66,15 μισθοῦ: -ὸν
 68,10 ἀνέθορε: -θηρε
 68,17 πειράζουσα: -άζου
 68,24 δεδεμένον: δὲ δεμίνον
 68,27 θεραπεία: -ας
 68,28 διὸ: διὰ
 70,5 ὥρμησε: ὥς μηδὲ
 70,7 ἀνθορμήσασα: ἀνορ-
 70,7 τε *om.*
 70,20 δεσμῶν: *add.* ἡμῶν
 70,28 ἔφεσιν: ἄφεσιν

72,4 ὁ τὸν: καὶ τὸν
 72,5 ἐπινοία: καθίνοια *ut vid.*
 72,9 φόνους: νόμους
 72,17 ἡμῶν: ἡμεν
 72,18 τὸ ταύτην: τοσαύτην
 72,20 Ἰησοῦς: κύριος
 72,29 κοινωνίας: κανωνίας
 72,31 πάλιν ἤρετο *inv.*
 74,20 οὐρανὸν: οὐρανοὺς
 74,23 καὶ τὴν: πολλάκις καὶ τὴν
 76,11 τερπομένη: τρεπ-
 76,17 δύο *om.*
 78,3 ὑπενόει: -ειν
 78,24 τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀκοαῖς *inv.*
 78,25 κατατυχοῦσαν: κατυχοῦσαν
 80,7 περιερχόμενος: διερ-
 82,28 εὐωδίαν: εὐλογία
 84,9 τινῶν . . . πολυτίμων *om.*
 84,20 καὶ . . . λειπομένη *om.*
 86,20 νενόμικε: ἐνείνικε
 88,11 οἶα: οἷ
 88,13 αὐτῇ: τῇ
 96,7 ἡμῶν: ἡμῖν
 96,22 ὅσα τε εἶδον *om.*
 96,28 θαύματος: θύμματος
 98,15 γε: τε
 98,21 θέλει: -ειν
 98,22 ἀλλ'ἦ: ἀλλὰ
 98,24 σοι: σου, *quod ante* γὰρ *tr.*
 98,32 μεταστειλόμενος: -αμένης
 100,10 εὐχαριστίας: (-ίσας, i.e.) -ήσας
 100,12 πρὸς: εἰς
 102,7 ὑπείληφεν: -ληφθεν
 104,5 τὰ *om.*
 104,12 παρὰ πόδας: παρ'ἐλπίδας
 104,16 μετάστασιν: μετανάστασιν
 104,27 περαιωθέντος: -θέντα
 106,2 δύο *om.*
 106,4 αὐτὴν: αὐτῇ
 106,11 εἰς οὐρανοὺς *om.*

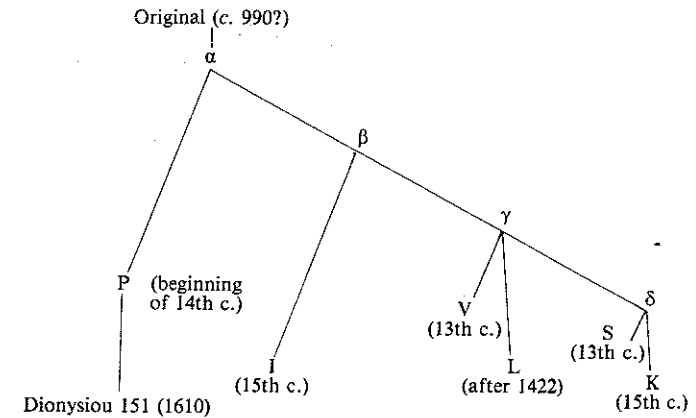
106,14 πράγματος: θαύματος
 106,15 τοῦ τοσούτου: τοῦτο
 106,22—23 ζῶης καταντῆσαι *inv.*
 106,25 ἀγαπῶσαι: -ᾶτε
 110,1 ἔθειον: ἐνθειον
 110,4 φορά: φθορά
 112,7 ἔλκονται: -ταις
 112,10 ἢ *om.*
 112,21 οὐ: οὖν

Against I, VLSK are held together by a number of common errors in passages of which the text in I is confirmed by P; the following seem reasonably certain:

60,7 ἀφυνπίασα: -ισθεῖσα
 60,13 πάσας: -αις
 62,17 ἐν αὐτῷ *om.*
 62,24 κραυγαί: -αῖς
 72,31 τὸ *om.*

Again, within the group VLSK there is modest evidence of affinity between V and L on the one hand, and S and K on the other. At 112,22 the addition of τῇ, which is clearly wrong, unites V and L, and at 100,11—12 the omission and subsequent marginal addition of a sequence of eleven words indicates a peculiarity in the model of both MSS. In the case of V and L nothing in the material available would prevent L from being a direct descendant of V, but in view of the scarce material provided by the fragmentary text of V, it seems safer to assume a common model. In the case of S and K a direct descent of K from the older S is excluded by a number of individual variants and errors in S; cf. the critical apparatus at 2,3, 20,1, 26,13, 48,12, 52,1, 58,9, 76,15, 92,25, and 106,21. Indirectly these variants support the assumption of an affinity between V and L since they exclude the descent of these two MSS from S.

On the basis of the material presented above, the relationship between the MSS of *VI* may be illustrated by the following *stemma*:



In a few cases errors common to two of the MSS cannot be explained by the *stemma*:

34,29—30 εἶπεν . . . ὑψωθήσεται *om.* PL (note ταπεινωθήσεται preceding εἶπεν)
 44,3 δὲ ἐλεεῖν *inv.* IK
 72,7 ἀλληφονίας IL
 90,26 καὶ . . . ἐξιοῦσαν *om.* PI (note βαδίζουσιν, ἀπιοῦσαν preceding καὶ)
 104,10 ἐντυχίαν: εὐτυχίαν IK

All these errors however are such as each copyist may well have made independently. Against the positive evidence in support of the *stemma* they can have little weight.

The reconstruction of the archetype from the two branches of the *stemma* calls for consideration of some obvious problems. First there is the general difficulty of choosing between equally acceptable variants with equal MS support. In all such situations there will be left a number of cases in which any argumentation in support of one or the other alternative is virtually impossible. The printed text will then either depend on a subjective choice between individual variants or on an overall choice between the two MS branches, which will in turn be gratuitous.

Secondly, in this special case there is the ambivalence of P's readings: although in several cases P alone is undoubtedly right, there are numerous instances in which P is not likely to give the genuine text even if it seems to be good. A reasonable starting-point for judgment on the relatively large number of variants in the 'grey zone' between the two extremes would be that, since P seems to have copied *VI* with linguistic consciousness and to have had access to a model of superior quality, at least in some respects, to β, this MS should be given precedence over β when dealing with stylistically

indifferent variants. But it is not always easy to know which variants should be regarded as stylistically indifferent. The difficulty may be illustrated with some passages in which Bible quotations have been altered by P against the original wording preserved by β, alterations for which the reasons are sometimes obscure.³² Thus at 32,18 P has changed μοί ἐστιν to ἐστιν ἐμοί (for rhythmic reasons?); at 42,16, γλῶσσαν to γλῶτταν (with little stylistic significance);³³ at 54,26, ἐκπορεύεται to ἐξέρχεται (seemingly insignificant); at 56,7, ἀληθεία to διανοία (achieving the trivial but unobjectionable combination πνεύματι καὶ δ.; probably a mechanical repetition of διανοίας in the beginning of the same line); at 108,6, ἀντίλυτρον to λύτρον ὑπὲρ (substituting a common phrase for a rather rare noun).³⁴ Add the following, equally arbitrary alterations: παρεστῶτα for the expected παρεστηκότα at 20,26 (the NT text has the nominative παρεστηκώς); βόθρον for βόθυνον at 32,2;³⁵ εἶποι for εἶπη at 42,17; παρεμβάλλων for -βαλὼν at 70,24; μετ' ἀγγέλων ἄσεις *inv.* at 104,25 (admittedly not in an exact quotation, but β is closer to the wording of the Septuagint); τοῦτο for ἐν αὐτῷ at 110,15.

It is therefore necessary to take a constantly sceptical attitude towards P, although not as a principle to be followed in every doubtful case. The text must, unfortunately, be constituted by means of an eclectic procedure, and the only category among the doubtful variants for which full certainty might be maintained are the cases where P is confirmed by I. The extremely bad quality of I's text however makes its support weaker than its position in the *stemma* would motivate. Thus there are cases in which the agreement between P and I might be better explained as coincidental errors; one is 24,16 (see note ad loc.). For practical reasons this suspicious attitude towards I

as support of P has not normally been admitted to influence the choice of readings, even if in some cases the variants common to PI might seem less easy to defend than those of γ; for cases in point, cf. the critical apparatus at 72,14, 90,10, and 104,22.

It should be pointed out that the archetype was not free from errors. Certain cases are the haplographies ἡκόει for ἡκηκόει at 10,20 and τὰ omitted after αὐτὰ at 18,27, as well as οἶδε for εἶδε at 46,26. Not certain but reasonably probable is the omission of ἀπὸ at 76,15. Desirable if not compulsory are the emendations proposed at 10,26 and 12,2 (see app. crit.). The presence of a couple of certain and some less certain errors means that the archetype was most probably not the author's autograph. It also means that further corruptions in the textual tradition may exist.

³² It is a natural presupposition that the author of a text should in principle be regarded as responsible for correct quotations, copyists for corruptions of them. The opposite would imply the awkward idea of a copyist checking the text against Bible passages which he only incidentally would have been able to locate or even identify as quotations.

³³ This variation is very common in manuscripts of Byzantine texts, and it would probably be futile to seek Atticist or Classicist ambitions behind -ττ- for -σσ-. Different forms, sometimes of the same word, may be found in one and the same source of one and the same text, thus e.g., in P at 76,18, κυπαρίσσοις, but at 78,8, κυπαριττῶν. They were apparently interchangeable.

³⁴ In Lampe, examples of λύτρον cover nearly one column whereas ἀντίλυτρον is given eight lines.

³⁵ In fact, βόθρον is found in a small part of the tradition of the Gospels (including in the first place the Bezae Cantabr.). But it is also a better known word than βόθυνον, and this is certainly what mattered to P.

APPENDIX A: Chrysobalanton in the *Patria Kōnstantinoupoleōs*

The author of *VI* only incidentally touches upon the historical background of Chrysobalanton.¹ The only relevant passage is 14,3—7, where we are told that this monastery, like so many spiritual foundations of the capital, had been depopulated during Iconoclasm and then, shortly before Irene's arrival there, was transformed into a nunnery. As for its later history, we can only say that it was probably an active institution when *VI* was written (see Chapter I, section 3, *supra*).

Our only source for the prehistory of the monastery is an item in the patriographic collection ascribed to Kodinos. A translation of the relevant section reads:²

'Chrysobalanon [-balanton, v.l.] was a house belonging to Nicholas, *domestikos tēs anatólēōs*³ and patrician. He erected two churches, that of the Archistrategē⁴ and that of St Panteleimon.⁵ When he was delayed during a military expedition his wife committed adultery. Arriving in the city and learning and witnessing this,

¹ Information on Chrysobalanton, derived from *VI* and the *Patria* (see next note) and faulty in part, is provided by Janin, *Siège de Cple*, 540—541.

² PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 243,1—12. On the functions of this literature with regard to religious foundations, see G. Dagron, 'Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine', *DOP*, 31 (1977), 1—25, esp. 7—9.

³ This title was created in the reign of Romanos II (959—963), when the office of *domestikos tōn scholōn* was split into two; see Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 329. From the point of view of the patriographer, therefore, tracing the more or less remote origin of the foundation, it is probably an anachronism to use it here. But we should not seek chronological accuracy in a basically timeless context.

⁴ I.e. one of the archangels Michael and Gabriel.

⁵ Perhaps to be identified with the *parekklēsiōn* dedicated to St Theodore mentioned in *VI*; see note 4 on *VI*, ch. 23, *infra*.

the *domestikos* butchered both of them. Eventually he began to think of the fearful Judgement and erected the churches.

When he had reached the end of the construction and was dejected about the sum of money [spent?], the angel appeared to him in a dream saying to him, "Go to Aspar's cistern nearby, and you will find a purse [βαλάντιον] containing one hundred pounds of gold [χρυσίου]." As he found it he resolved that the place should be named thus.⁶

This curious story consists of two separate parts, the first of which, omitting some essential details, describes how and why the foundations of Chrysobalanton were laid. The main point is that two churches were built by a patrician general called Nicholas as atonement for the murder of his wife and her lover. These churches, together with the house of Nicholas, apparently constitute the monastery (it is not stated, and not necessary to believe the author to mean, that monastic activities were initiated by Nicholas himself).⁶

The second part comes in rather abruptly, explaining, probably erroneously,⁷ the etymology of the name of Chrysobalanton: when the construction of the churches was finished (or can εἰς τέλος mean 'near to completion'?), Nicholas was troubled about his heavy expenditure (or shall we understand 'the remaining costs for completing the churches'?). Following the advice of an angel, however, he went to somewhere near Aspar's cistern where he found a 'purse of gold'. If we discard my alternative interpretations of two important details (for I do not think they are right although the story would make better sense if they were; but cf. *infra*) the function of this fortune is merely to compensate Nicholas for his expenditure. This seems rather pointless, for what we would expect is an indication of how the money was used. As it stands, the whole story comes up to nothing more than providing a name for the place. As for the geographical specification, it seems to imply that Nicholas's house (at least the place where he received the message of the angel) was somewhere else than near Aspar's cistern, but this is most probably due to the author's confusion.

The connection of the second, etymological part of the *Patria* item with the first one, the foundation-story proper, is very loose; in fact one has the impression that two quite unrelated stories have only half-heartedly, and indeed unsuccessfully, been combined.

⁶ Nor is it expressly stated that Chrysobalanton is a monastery. But cf. *supra*, p. xxx, with note 20.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. xxxi.

What I have called the foundation-story proper appears to be related to a tradition concerning the building activities of Basil I. In the *Life of St Basil the Younger* we read that that Saint at one time was staying in the quarter of Arkadianai, 'near the two churches dedicated to the archistrateges Michael and Gabriel, which the Emperor Basil built to atone for the murder he had committed of the Emperor Michael'.⁸ By Liudprand of Cremona⁹ the motif of atonement is ascribed to a more conspicuous achievement of Basil's than the two obscure churches in Arkadianai.¹⁰ The Italian bishop, who visited Constantinople at about the same time as the *Life of St Basil the Younger* seems to have been composed,¹¹ tells a developed version of the same story, attaching it to the famous 'New Church' (*Nea*). Gyula Moravcsik, in his well-known study of the legendary traditions about Basil I, observed the parallelism without commenting on the discrepancies.¹² From the general tenor of his study, however, we may infer that Moravcsik regarded the motif of atonement as the central feature, which in different contexts has been connected with different buildings and monuments. Apparently Chrysobalanton is only another variation of this theme.

The second part of Pseudo-Kodinos's story is modelled on another *Patria* legend, which concerns the Church of the Holy Apostles. It is found in a tenth-century addition to the ninth-century *diêgêsis* on the construction of

St Sophia.¹³ We learn there that the Holy Apostles was built by Constantine the Great and Helena and later rebuilt by the Empress Theodora, who used surplus material from St Sophia. When the mosaic decoration was to be made the Empress lacked money. In her dejection she had a vision of the Apostles telling her to go to the shore outside the gate of Dexiokrates; there she would find twelve jars full of gold. The chapter ends with the remark that the mosaics and marbles commissioned by Theodora were removed by Basil I, who reused them for the construction of the *Nea Ekklesiâ* and the Church of St Mary at the Forum. This legend about Theodora and the Holy Apostles is closely related to one about Justinian and St Sophia in the ninth-century *diêgêsis* just referred to.¹⁴ It is, however, the younger legend that shows the closest parallels with the story of Chrysobalanton; the parallelism is, in fact, partly literal.

For Nicholas, the founder of Chrysobalanton, the critical moment is described in this way: 'Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τέλος τοῦ κτίσματος καὶ ἀδημονῶν διὰ ποσότητα χρυσοῦ, ὤφθη αὐτῷ κατ'ὄναρ ὁ ἄγγελος λέγων αὐτῷ· ἄπελθε εἰς τὴν Ἀσπάρου πλησίον καὶ εὐρήσεις βαλάντιον ἔχον χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἑκατόν.'¹⁵ The corresponding passage on Theodora reads: 'Ἐλθόντος δὲ [sc. τοῦ ναοῦ] εἰς τὸ μουσειωθῆναι ἔλειψε τῇ δεσποίνῃ χρυσοῦ ποσότης. Καὶ ἀδημονούσης ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς Αὐγούστης κατ'ὄναρ ἐφάνησαν οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι λέγοντες αὐτῇ· μὴ λυποῦ . . . ἀλλ'ἀπελθοῦσα ἔξω τῆς πόρτης Δεξιοκράτους εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εὐρήσεις δώδεκα κεράμια γέμοντα χρυσοῦ κεχωσμένα.'¹⁶

It is probable that the gold treasure in the legend of Chrysobalanton derives from that of the Holy Apostles. In the latter text this element comes in naturally and without creating any difficulties. Moreover, if there is such a relationship, the difficulties in the former text which were pointed out above can be easily explained as imperfect adaptations of material that did not originally belong to the context. When the author substituted εἰς τέλος for εἰς τὸ μουσειωθῆναι (because he knew or supposed that there were no mosaics at Chrysobalanton) he did not consider that a builder who 'had reached the end of his construction' had no need of finding a treasure to be comforted from dejection.

⁸ *VBlun*, fol. 38^v (ed. Vilinskij 307,10—13) εἰς Ἀρκαδιανὰς πλησίον τῶν δύο ναῶν τῶν ἐπ'ὀνόματι τῶν ἀρχιστρατηγῶν, Μιχαὴλ φημί καὶ Γαβριήλ, οὓς ἔδειματο Βασίλειος ὁ βασιλεὺς, βουλόμενος τὸν φόνον ὃν τετέλεκε εἰς Μιχαὴλ βασιλέα . . . ἀνακαλέσασθαι (corresponding to *ActaSS*, March 3 [1668], *31C).

⁹ Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I 10.

¹⁰ See Janin, *Siège de Cple*, 66 (no. 2) and 340 (no. 5). There seems to be some reason for identifying these churches, as Janin does, with St Michael τὰ Στείρου (op. cit., 345, no. 20) and perhaps with St Michael ἐν τοῖς Σινάτορος (ibid., no. 19). Their history would then have reached farther back than the author of *VBlun* knew.

¹¹ Liudprand's first visit to Constantinople was in 949—950. The *VBlun* was probably written c. 956—959; see H. Grégoire & P. Orgels, 'L'invasion hongroise dans la "Vie de saint Basile le Jeune"', *Byz*, 24 (1954), 147—154, esp. 154. Cf. Ch. Angelide, 'Ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου' (Ioannina, 1980), 92—94.

¹² Gy. Moravcsik, 'Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.', *DOP*, 15 (1961), 59—126, esp. 105 f. Cf. also P. Karlin-Hayter in her Introduction to *VEuthymPatr*, 14. A surprisingly non-sceptical attitude to these legends seems to be taken by E. Kislinger, 'Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I. und Michael III.', *JÖB*, 33 (1983), 119—136, esp. 133. To erect or restore churches as atonement for the murder and even remind the public of the victim by dedicating them to his namesake would be equal to overtly admitting the guilt for a serious crime. Is it likely that Basil's conscience was so uncontrollably sensitive as such desperate actions would seem to presuppose?

¹³ PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 286,16 ff. See the annotated analysis by G. Dagron in his *Constantinople imaginaire. Etudes sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris, 1984), 210 f.

¹⁴ In Preger, *Scriptores originum CP*, 88,11 ff.; analysis and commentary by Dagron, op.cit., 201 f.

¹⁵ PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 243,8—11.

¹⁶ Text. cit., 287,8—15.

In addition to this obvious source there is a group of legends in tenth-century hagiography which forms a more general parallel to the second part of the Chrysobalanton story.¹⁷ It is connected with Constantine the Paphlagonian,¹⁸ a eunuch who was appointed *parakoimômenos* by Leo VI and for some years was the virtual co-regent of Zoe Carbonopsina. According to the often fanciful version of the Logothete Chronicle ascribed to Symeon Magister,¹⁹ Leo had founded a monastery for him at Nosiai, near the capital. There Constantine's old father had owned a small villa with a water-cistern, apparently open for public use. Once a soldier who passed by took up his purse to count his money and found that it amounted to three pounds. As he left he forgot the purse, but Constantine's father found it and preserved it, praying to God that its owner would return to retrieve his money. After three years the soldier passed Nosiai again. As the old man heard him talk to himself about the loss of his money, he recognized the soldier and returned his purse. He refused however to accept any reward for his help. The following night Christ told him in a dream that his son would become *parakoimômenos* and that his own villa would be transformed into a large monastery.

With some variations and the loss of one important detail, the same story is told in the 'edifying tale' about the peasant Metrios.²⁰ There we find Constantine and his Paphlagonian homeland as well as the forgotten money returned to its owner by Constantine's father (whose name is Metrios). There is also the prophecy about Constantine's bright future in his father's dream. In this version it is an angel who brings the message, and says that Metrios will beget a son who shall be called Constantine and will become patrician and *parakoimômenos* so that he can provide his parents and all his relatives with numberless good things. Nothing is said about a monastery.

¹⁷ Some less conspicuous parallels may illustrate the genre to which these legends belong. Cf. *Vltoann a. Saba*, ed. Van den Gheyn 351BC: Ioannikios erects a church to the Virgin after a vision of a pastoral landscape in which a spot is called 'Maria's dwelling' by a heavenly voice; PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 233,9—11: the Church of St Anastasia at Ta Maurianou was built for the fortune left by Aspar at his death; *ibid.*, 204,5 ff. (= *Parastaseis*, Preger, 29,6 ff.; also in: *Constantinople in the early eighth century. The Parastaseis . . . Intro., transl. and comm.* Ed. by Av. Cameron & J. Herrin [Leiden, 1984], 76): Ardaburius, Aspar's son, is said to have found 133 pounds of gold under a statue.

¹⁸ On his historical role, see P. Karlin-Hayter on *VEuthymPatr*, 70,10 (p. 195); L. Rydén, 'The Life of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St. Andreas Salos', in: *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko . . .* (1983), 568—586, esp. 574—576.

¹⁹ Bonn ed., 713,11—715,6.

²⁰ *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye 722,24—724,45.

As will have emerged from the preceding summaries, there are obvious similarities between the two sets of legends, that about Chrysobalanton and that about Constantine the Paphlagonian and his monastery at Nosiai. This is also the case with the historical reality which can be traced behind each of them. Both monasteries were originally secular private houses and each is connected with a specific family. The provincial origin of Constantine the Paphlagonian's family is a further point reminiscent of what we learn about Chrysobalanton from *VI*. In the story of Nosiai the historical nucleus is easier to assess than is the case with the *Patria* item concerning Chrysobalanton. But even if we have no means of uncovering such a nucleus in the puzzling information provided by the *Patria*, we should certainly assume that there is one. It seems however doubtful whether knowledge about it would shed much light on the background of *VI*. Possibly the *domestikos* Nicholas in the foundation story of Chrysobalanton was a Gouber. If so, his role in the composition of *VI* could at most have been that of a remote and nearly forgotten ancestor providing the name of a major character of the text: the erotically extravagant vine-dresser of Irene's convent (text, chapter 15).

APPENDIX B: St Irene in the Twentieth Century

Both the original *VI* and Agapios Landos's version of it continued to be printed through the centuries (*supra*, Chapter II, section 2). At least Agapios's version, being published in a very popular and widely circulated book, must have had readers, but there is no evidence, literary or other, that the Life of the Abbess of Chrysobalanton very much impressed them.

Things began to change somewhat when about 1920 the hagiographic tradition on Irene developed into a new productive phase. At some time before that year a monk of Mount Athos, called Nektarios and hailing from Smyrna, painted an icon of Irene. This icon represents the Saint flanked by two cypresses and holding three apples in her hand (cf. *VI*, chapters 16 and 18, *infra*). In 1920 Nektarios went to Smyrna together with another monk called Kyrillos Lemonias, and both 'suffered martyrdom' at the hands of the Turks.¹ Under obscure circumstances Nektarios's icon was brought from Mount Athos by the Archimandrite Paisios Philokaliotakis, who happened to be the spiritual father of a young woman called Lemonia (a relative of Nektarios's fellow-martyr?). In 1926, when she was twenty years old, she took the vow before the Archimandrite, assuming the monastic name of Meletia.

Being energetic and self-confident, the nun Meletia wished to found a convent for herself and therefore acquired a piece of land at Lykovrysi, near Kifisia (Attika). Her mother died, she too a nun, on 10 October 1927, after uttering the wish that the future church of her daughter's foundation should be dedicated to the Taxiarchs (i.e., the archangels); as a nun she had borne the name of Taxiarchia.

When the construction of the church was begun St Irene appeared in a vision to one of the workers, a man from Piraeus called Michael Gerasimos, and indicated to him the right place for the building; this was not the place

¹ I.e., they were somehow victims of the 'Great Idea'.

where preparations for the work had been made. After a similar vision seen by one of the nuns the construction plans were changed in accordance with the Saint's wishes. The Archimandrite Paisios advised Meletia to dedicate the church not to the Taxiarchs but to St Irene, in order to have the benefit of the Saint's protection, and Meletia obeyed. In addition, close to this church, a chapel was erected to the two Theodores, the great martyrs. These buildings were finished in 1930 and constituted the first convent ever dedicated to Irene save Chrysobalanton at Constantinople. At that time the icon of Nektarios began to reveal its power of miracle-working, attracting visitors from all parts of the world, 'Constantinople, America, Germany, Africa, Egypt,' etc. In the 1970s the old Meletia was still abbess of her foundation, and it is from two pamphlets published and printed there that the preceding pieces of information have been derived.²

The miracles performed by Nektarios's icon are said to be recorded and partly published in a periodical circulated by the convent. One such miracle has been appended to the reprint of Agapios's version of *VI* published by V. Matthaïos in his *Μέγας συναξαριστής*.³ It tells the story of a certain Nikolaos⁴ Mavromatakis from Kifisia, whom St Irene on 14 July 1944

² One is 'Ιερὸν Πανελλήνιον Προσκύνημα Ὁσίας Εἰρήνης Χρυσοβαλάντου Ἱ. Μονὴ Λυκοβρύσεως Ἀττικῆς (Lykovrysi, n.d.; 32 pp.) which contains a short presentation of Irene and of Chrysobalanton (the latter based on the *Patria* note, somewhat censored; cf. App. A, *supra*), as well as a few data on Irene's modern convent. One is surprised to read in this context a recommendation to use Chrysobalantou and Chrysobalantis as proper names for girls and boys, respectively. These names, maintains the author, are no less apt than, e.g., Magdalene and Damaskenos which also derive from place-names. Moreover, the author continues, the pious should abandon names which have nothing to do with their religion, such as Peristera, Trygona, Margarita, Violetta, which are given to Christians although they are names for birds and flowers. The last few pages of this pamphlet are occupied by a hymn to Irene by the abbess Meletia. The second publication bears the title *Βίος καὶ παρακλητικοὶ κανόνες ὁσίας Εἰρήνης Χρυσοβαλάντου*; the 13th ed. (Lykovrysi, 1979; 160 pp.) has been at my disposal. This little volume opens with the hymns by Gerasimos Mikragiannitis (cf. *infra*), which are followed by a chapter on Irene's two convents and another containing Agapios's version of her Life. The booklet ends with the hymn by Meletia just mentioned. I am indebted to the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessalonica, for kindly helping me to obtain these otherwise inaccessible publications.

³ Cf. *supra*, Ch. II, section 2. The *Life of Irene* occupies pp. 456—482; the episode concerning Nikolaos Mavromatakis is told on pp. 479 ff. The editor indicates (p. 481, note) as his source an *akolouthia* edited by the nun Meletia, i.e. a publication of much the same character as the *Βίος καὶ παρακλητικοὶ κανόνες* cited in note 2, *supra*.

⁴ This was also the name of the legendary founder of Chrysobalanton (see App. A, *supra*) as well as of one of the two main beneficiaries of Irene's exorcistic powers according to *VI* (*infra*, text, ch. 15). Admittedly, Nikolaos is no rare name, but names *are* rare in *VI*, and that Nikolaos is one of them should at least be mentioned.

saved from being executed by German soldiers who unjustly suspected him of being a Communist partisan plotting against them.

A modest literary achievement had some connection with the circumstances related above. It is the *akolouthia* for Irene's day composed by the monk Gerasimos of the monastery of Μικρά Ἀγία Ἄννα (Mikragianitis) of Mount Athos. He wrote this piece of liturgical poetry after 1930 (for it refers to Lykovrysi) and before 1950 (for the poem is mentioned by V. Matthaios in the volume of July, printed in that year, of his *Μέγας Συναξαριστής*). On 15 March 1958 Gerasimos transferred the copyright of his work to the Convent of Lykovrysi by a solemn document printed and facsimiled as a kind of preface to the collection of texts on Irene which has been produced by the convent.⁵

The *akolouthia* of Gerasimos consists of four parts: two paracletic canons, one series of *chairetismoi*, and a final eucharistic canon. The work betrays no acquaintance with the old *akolouthiai* in the MSS I and V (*infra*, Appendix C), but testifies to its author's attentive reading of VI.⁶

The miracle-working icon by Nektarios, which seems to have initiated the modern cult of Irene, has been copied by other icon-painters. One copy is reproduced in the pamphlet of Lykovrysi containing Agapios's version of VI.⁷ Facing the beginning of Gerasimos's *chairetismoi* it shows the same iconography as its prototype. The signature Παισίου Μ(οναχοῦ) is visible, but no date. A less sophisticated version, a drawing dated 1967, appears on the front-cover of the same publication.

Given the local and private character of Irene's cult at Lykovrysi one should not expect to find it spreading very widely, although a more thorough investigation might reveal further developments besides the admittedly incidental pieces of information presented here.⁸ Still, the revival of St Irene after centuries of inactivity outside the covers of some manuscripts and printed books is rather a curiosity than a fact of any significance for the student of VI.

⁵ I.e., *Βίος καὶ παρακλητικοὶ κανόνες* (note 2, *supra*).

⁶ References are generally vague. A deliberate deviation by Gerasimos is that in retelling the story of the possessed nun (VI, ch. 13, *infra*), he has substituted the city of Caesarea for the province of Cappadocia as the place of origin of the protagonists.—For other hagiographic works by Gerasimos, cf. *BHG*³ 984 and *Novum Auctarium* 2119; add two items reported in *BZ*, 48 (1955), 458, and 55 (1962), 372. He also published a catalogue of the MSS of the *Skêtê* of St Anna; see *EEBS*, 29 (1959), 87–192, and 30 (1960/1961), 455–560.

⁷ *Βίος καὶ παρακλητικοὶ κανόνες* (note 2, *supra*), 52.

⁸ One additional example would be an icon of Irene seen by Professor Rydén in Lesbos a few years ago.

Sigla

- P Athos, Pantokrator 6 (14th c.), fols. 249—264^v.
I Athos, Iviron 905 (15th c.).
V Athos, Vatopedi 93 (13th c.).
L Laurentianus X 31 (15th c.), fols. 249—303^v.
S Athos, Stavronikita 18 (13th c.), fols. 397—426.
K Athos, Koutloumousiou 208 (15th c.), fols. 178—198.
< > additions made by the editor

Pages and paragraph numbers of the *ActaSS* edition of 1729 are indicated (the latter in bold-face type) in the left margin of the text. The actual chapter numbers have been introduced by the editor.

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

602E 1 1. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ἐπέπαυτο ὁ κατὰ τῶν προσκυνητῶν τῆς εἰκόνης
τοῦ Χριστοῦ διωγμός, καὶ ἡ ἄλογος ὁρμὴ τῆς ἀπονοίας τοῦ τῶν
εἰκονομάχων φρυάγματος, τῷ τοῦ τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτασσομένου. 5
νεύματι καὶ κατηγωνισμένη καὶ καταβεβλημένη, ἐβδελύχθη καὶ
ἐξώσθη καὶ διεφθάρη· καὶ ὥσει καπνὸς ἐξέλιπεν ὁ πολὺς ἐκείνης
καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ζῆλος, τῇ τοῦ βίου καταλύσει τοῦ φιλοχρύσου
καὶ μισοχρίστου Θεοφίλου τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας συγκαταλυθείσης
καὶ τῇ νεκρώσει τῆς τούτου ζωῆς καθάπερ τινὸς οὐρᾶς ὀλκοῦ 10
δρακοντιαίου καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτου συναπονεκρωθέντος
δόγματος. Ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνῃ μὲν σύζυγος, πιστὴ δὲ τῷ θεῷ βασιλῆς
F Θεοδώρα, τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ τῆς ἀσεβείας γενομένη διάδοχος, εὐθέως
καὶ ἐκ προοιμίων ἦν διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον ὠδίνησεν εὐσέβειαν
ἀρτιωτάτην ἔτεκε καὶ τελείαν, πᾶσι τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἀχράντων εἰκόνων 15
καὶ προσκύνῃσιν ἀνύποπτον καὶ πεπαρρησιασμένην ὑπαπλώσασα
καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κόσμον, τὴν θεοτερπὴ τῶν
εἰκόνων ἀνατύπωσιν αὐτῆς ἀπέλαβεν, ἐν τοίχοις, ἐν πίναξιν, ἐν ὕλαις

PLSK

1 ante tit. add. μηνί 'Ιουλίῳ κη' P || 2 ἡγουμένης: add. γενομένης τῆς P ||
Χρυσοβαλάνου P (hic tantum) || post tit. add. εὐλόγησον P add. εὐλόγησον πάτερ
LK || 3 ὁ ante τῆς tr. S || 5 τοῦ om. LSK || 17 θεοτερπῆ: θεοπρεπὴ P

5 ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτασσομένου: cf. Prov. 3,34 || 7 ὥσει . . . ἐξέλιπεν: cf. Ps.
101(102),4 et sim. locc. || 8 μὴ . . . ζῆλος: cf. Rom. 10,2

1. ¹ Applied to the Iconoclasts also in *SynodOrthod*, ed. Gouillard, I. 22; later, e.g.,
in *VMarlun*, ed. Peeters 692C, [Michael III,] ἐφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἐπαύθη
φρυάγματα.

² Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 13 (PG 35, 1185B), τῇ τοῦ βίου καταλύσει συγκαταλύσω τὸν
λόγον; cf. also Isid. Pelus., *Ep.* IV 63 (PG 78, 1121A).

³ A pun on the common imperial epithet φιλόχριστος. Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 30 (PG
36, 536C), βασιλεὺς ὁ φιλοχρυσότατος καὶ μισοχριστότατος.

Life and Conduct of Our Holy Mother Irene Abbess of the Convent of Chrysobalanton

1. The Triumph of Orthodoxy

The persecution of the venerators of the image of Christ had now come to an end. Overcome by the will of Him that *scorneth the scornors* and defeated, the senseless rush of the Iconoclasts' rabid arrogance¹ had been abhorred, expelled, and destroyed. Like smoke, its *zeal*, great but *not according to knowledge*, had been dispelled. For with the end² of the life of Theophilos, the gold-loving and Christ-hating,³ this impiety too had been brought to an end; and through his destruction this evil dogma too had been destroyed, like the trailing tail, as it were, of a dragon.⁴ The Empress Theodora, who had been married to the Emperor although she was faithful to God,⁵ succeeded to his throne but not to his impiety.⁶ Already at the very beginning she gave mature and perfect life to the piety with which she in her fear of God had been pregnant, opening the way for all to revere and venerate the undefiled icons safely and candidly. God's Church regained her adornment,⁷ the God-pleasing representa-

⁴ Cf. Greg. Nyss., *VMos*, II 94 (PG 44, 353B), ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄψεως ὁ τὴν κεφαλὴν
πλήξας ὄλον συναπενέκρωσε τὸν κατόπιν ὀλκὸν ὃν ἐφέλκεται.

⁵ Cf. Theodoret, *HRel*, IV 3,4 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 294) ὁ τούτου
μὲν θεῖος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πιστὸς θεράπων.

⁶ Conversely, of Constantine V, *VNicetMed*, xxviiiB (§28), διαδέχεται τούτου τὴν
βασιλείαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ; of Michael III, *VEuar*,
ed. Van de Vorst 300,13—14, τοῦ τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονόμου καὶ βασιλείας καὶ
δυσσεβείας.

⁷ A frequent phrase in this context; cf., e.g., Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed. 154,7—8, sim.,
ibid., 150,15—16; PsSymeon Magistros, ed.cit., 648,3, 650,21—22, 651,19; *VEustr*, ed.
Papadopoulos-Kerameus 376,4—5. The model appears to be Athanasios, *VAnt*, 82 (PG
26, 960B) (predicting the defeat of Arianism), πάλιν ταχέως ἀπολήψεται τὸν ἑαυτῆς
κόσμον ἢ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

πάσαις, χαλκῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ, καὶ χαραττομένων καὶ προσκυνουμένων.

- 2 Δευτέρα μὲν ἐπομένη τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς μακαριστῆς βασιλείσης Εἰρήνης — ἣ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρότερον εὐσέβειαν ἐπεδείξατο, τὴν ἐβδόμην καὶ μεγάλην συγκροτήσασα σύνοδον ἐν τῇ Νικαέων μητροπόλει καὶ πᾶσαν τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἀντιλογίαν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῶν συνεληλυθότων πολλῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐπιστομίσασα, ἐγγράφως ἐκτεθεικότων τὰ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ὑπολήψεως καὶ ὁμολογίας, ὅφ' ὧν ἐνεφράγη στόμα λαλούντων ἄδικα —, οὐ δευτέρα δὲ τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ σπουδῇ· καὶ γὰρ εἴτι καὶ λείψανον τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας τοῖς πονηροῖς ὑπολέλειπτο, 10 δι' ὧν πάλιν αὐτὴ συνήγαγε πατέρων, οἱ καὶ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ βαστάζοντες ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀφανισμῷ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ σιγῇ παρέδωκε παντελεῖ. Εἶτα σοφωτάτη προνοία κρατύνουσα τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπαιετὴν πανήγυριν 15 παντὶ τῷ αἰῶνι συμπαρακτεινομένην ἐθέσπισε, τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένην τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς πρώτης τῶν νηστειῶν ἐβδομάδος πολυάνθρωπον λιτήν, καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας εἰς δεῦρο καὶ λεγομένην καὶ γινωσκομένην, ἥνικα πρὸς τὸν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας ἐπώνυμον 20 καὶ μέγιστον συναγόμεθα ναόν, τὴν τε τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἀναστήλωσιν ἐορτάζοντες καὶ τῆς παντελοῦς καταστροφῆς τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἐτήσιον τῷ θεῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδόντες. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ λίαν ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἐπεκράτησεν ἀτιμία· ἐν ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα πρότερον ὅλοις ἔτεσιν, ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν ἐφ' ἑτέροις τριάκοντα ταῖς αὔραις 25 ἀναφθεῖσα τοῦ πονηροῦ τετυράννηκε, καὶ μεγάλης ἔδει τῆς

PLSK

1 καὶ³ om. P, qui ἅμα post χαραττομένων add. || 4 καὶ om. P || 6 Νικαέων LSK || 10 δὲ: καὶ LSK || 19 ἥνικα . . . ἐπώνυμον om. L

9 ἐνεφράγη . . . ἄδικα: Ps. 62,12 (63,11) || 12—13 στίγματα . . . βαστάζοντες: cf. Gal. 6,17

⁸ Cf. the office for Vespers on the eve of the Sunday of Orthodoxy (*Triḡdion*, ed. Saliberos 135, left col.), τὰς ἐν τοίχοις καὶ πίναξι καὶ ἱεροῖς σκεύεσιν ἐγχαρᾶσθαι ἱερὰς Χριστοῦ εἰκόνας . . . προσκυνήσωμεν; and the examples collected by Nikitin in his note on *PMartAmor*, 25,24 (p. 157).

⁹ Cf. John Chrys., *Hom. 31 in Io.*, 4 (PG 59, 180), τὴν ἀναίσχυντον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιστομίζων ἀντιλογίαν.

tions on icons, which were painted and venerated on walls and panels, in all kinds of material, bronze, silver, and gold.⁸

In time she was second to the blessed Empress Irene—the latter had at an earlier date shown the same degree of piety in much the same situation, convening the great Seventh Synod in the metropolis of Nicaea and bridling all opposition⁹ of the Iconoclasts with the unanimity of the many holy fathers gathered there, men who set down in writing the articles of the Orthodox doctrine and confession whereby *the mouth of them that speak lies was stopped*—, but she was not second to her in faith, zeal, and earnestness. For such traces of this impiety as still remained in evil people she assigned to complete abolition and silence with the help of the fathers whom she in her turn had summoned, men who bore in their bodies the marks of Christ for the sake of His image. Then, to confirm the piety she ordained with wise forethought that praiseworthy feast to endure as long as all time,¹⁰ that celebration which we perform with a populous procession on the Sunday of the first week of Lent, and which to this day we call and know as the 'Feast of Orthodoxy'.¹¹ We then assemble in the Great Church named after the Wisdom of God, solemnizing the re-establishment of the holy icons and annually thanking God for the complete destruction of the Iconoclasts.¹² For it was not for a short time that the irreverence of the holy icons had held sway, but for a very long period. To begin with, its tyranny had lasted for fifty-seven entire years, later for another thirty,¹³ kindled by the Evil One's breath, and

¹⁰ Cf. id., *Hom. 27 in Gen.*, 10 (PG 53, 147), τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι συμπαρακτεινομένην (. . . τὴν τιμωρίαν).

¹¹ On the Feast of Orthodoxy, see Gouillard in the commentary to his ed. of *SynodOrthod*, pp. 129—138; on the synod summoned by Theodora, *ibid.*, 125—127.

¹² Reminiscent of the beginning of *SynodOrthod* (ed. Gouillard, ll. 1—3), ἐποφειλομένη πρὸς θεὸν ἐτήσιος εὐχαριστία καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ἀπελάβομεν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν σὺν . . . καταστροφῇ τῶν τῆς κακίας δυσσεβημάτων.

¹³ The two iconoclastic periods referred to were 730 (publishing of the edict of Leo III)—787 (the Seventh Synod at Nicaea) and 815 (the Synod of St Sophia)—843. This makes not 30 but 28 years for the second period, and the first had in fact begun already in 726 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor 404,3). For discussions, see the references in J. Moorhead, 'Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image', *Byz.* 55 (1985), 165—179, note 2 on p. 166.

B εὐχαριστίας πρὸς τὸν βραδὺν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ ταχὺν εἰς ἀντίληψιν
κύριον, τὸν ποιῶντα πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζοντα κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ
ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται τῷ βάθει τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ διοικήσεως.

2. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅρα τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπερβάλλον τῆς θεοφιλοῦς
γυναικός· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς εἶδε συμφέρον μόνον, οὐδ' ὅτι τῆς
αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἐπελάβετο διὰ πίστεως καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας
κατορθώματος, τοσαύτην δόξαν ἔστερξεν ἑαυτῇ πραγματευσαμένη,
ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἀποκειμένης αἰωνίου τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν
4 ἐξέληται καταδίκης, μηδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐθέλιν ἐνομιζέτο σωτηρίαν. Καὶ
τί ποιεῖ; Πάντας εἰς ταῦτ' οὗς ἁγίους ἐκκλησιασασαμένη πατέρας, καὶ
μάλιστα τοὺς ἐνηθληκότας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων τιμῆς καὶ
πληγὰς καὶ μώλωπας ἔτι περιφέροντας, τούτων τοῖς ποσὶ μηδὲν
ὑποστείλαμένη προσέπιπτεν ἡ βασιλὶς, δάκρυσι τὰς παρειὰς
ἐπιρραίνουσα καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον αὐτοὺς ἐκκαλουμένη καὶ δυσωποῦσα
δεήσεις καὶ ἱκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν οἰκτίρμονα καὶ φιλόφρονον κύριον
15 προσενεγκεῖν, ὅπως φείσῃται τῆς ἀθλίας τοῦ συνεύνου ψυχῆς, καὶ
τὸ μέγα τοῦτο διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν συγχωρήσεως μεσιτείας ἀνόμημα τῆς
ἀτελευτήτου τιμωρίας ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ. Καὶ δὴ τῆς ἱκετείας ἐν
C οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις τελουμένης ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ
δάκρυσιν, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐναπογραφῆναι μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων
αἵρετικῶν ὀνόματα, ὅσοι τῆς ὁμοίας ἦσαν ἀσεβείας ὑπέρμαχοι καὶ
20 προστάται, συναπογραφῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὁμόφρονος ὄνομα
Θεοφίλου, σφραγισθῆναι τε τὸν τόμον καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦτον
ἐναποτεθῆναι θυσιαστηρίῳ· ὁ δὴ καὶ γέγονε.
5 Τῶν ἱλαστηρίων δὲ τελειωθεισῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνοίξαντες τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
τὸν τόμον — ὦ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, Χριστέ βασιλεῦ, καὶ
τῆς ἀφάτου φιλανθρωπίας — εὗρισκousι μόνον τῶν ἄλλων
ἀπειλημμένων ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν αἵρετικῶν τὸ τοῦ Θεοφίλου
ὄνομα· καὶ ἐπληρώθη κἀνταῦθα ἡ λέγουσα τοῦ ἀποστόλου
νομοθεσία· 'Τί γὰρ οἶδας, γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις;' Ὦντως
30

PLSK

9 ἐξελεῖται P || 13 ὑποστελλομένη LSK || 24 καὶ om. P || 25 τελειουμένων
LSK || 27—28 τῶν . . . ἀπειλημμένων om. P || 30—8,1 ὄντως . . . ἐνεργουμένη
om. L

1 βραδὺν . . . ἀντίληψιν: cf. Iac. 1,19 || 2 ποιῶντα . . . μετασκευάζοντα: cf. Am.
5,8 || 3 τῷ . . . σοφίας: cf. Rom. 11,33 || 5—6 τῆς αἰωνίου . . . ἐπελάβετο:
cf. 1 Tim. 6,12 || 26 τοῦ πλήθους . . . σου: cf. Ps. 50(51),3 et sim. locc. || 30
Τί . . . σώσεις: 1 Cor. 7,16

great thanks were due to the Lord, *slow to wrath* but swift to help, He
that creates all things and changes them in due season, as He knows in
the depth of His dispensing *wisdom*.

2. The Emperor Theophilus Redeemed

But behold the abundant virtue of a woman beloved by God! She did not
look to her own good only, nor was she content with the glory she had
brought on herself by *laying hold on eternal life* through her faith and
through the great triumph of Orthodoxy; no, unless she could save her
husband from the eternal condemnation that awaits the impious, she
neither desired, it was thought, her own salvation. Now what did she do?
Assembling all the holy fathers, in particular those who had suffered for
the reverence of the holy icons and still bore wounds and bruises, the Em-
press without reserve fell at their feet. She wetted her cheeks with tears,
she urged them to compassion, she beseeched them to pray and supplicate
our compassionate and benevolent Lord to spare the wretched soul of her
husband and in His goodness liberate him from the eternal punishment,
forgiving him, for the sake of their intercession, his severe trespass. While
the supplication was being performed over several days, with vigils,
prayers and tears, the holy fathers decided that the names of all those
heretics who had been champions and leaders of the impiety, together
with the name of the like-minded Theophilus, should be inscribed in a
document to be sealed and deposited on the holy altar; and this was done.

The days of propitiation went by. On the following day, when they
opened the document—O Christ, our King, numerous are *Thy mercies!*
ineffable Thy love!—, they found that the name of Theophilus had alone
been wiped out from the list of heretics.¹ Thus was fulfilled the state-
ment of the Apostle that says, '*What knowest thou, O wife, whether thou*

2. ¹ The model for this episode is the hagiographic *NarrTheophilAbs*, ed. Regel. With
lines 20—29 here, cf. esp. pp. 36,9—37,15 (right col.), λαβὼν γὰρ [sc. ὁ Μεθόδιος] τόμον
καινὸν ἔγραψεν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Θεοφίλου καταρξάντων αἵρετικῶν τῆς
βασιλείας τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐντάξας ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοφίλου ὄνομα, καὶ τοῦτο
σφραγίσας . . . ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐναπέθετο. Καὶ
τούτου γενομένου καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάντων
προσκαρτεροῦντος, . . . τὸν τόμον . . . ἀνοίξας καὶ τῶν μὲν λοιπῶν αἵρετικῶν τὰ
ὀνόματα εὖρε γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ χάρτι, . . . τὸ δὲ τοῦ Θεοφίλου ὄνομα οὐδ' ὅλως
εὗρεθῃ.

μεγάλα ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη, ὧντος ὁ θεὸς ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν βουλαῖς ἐστὶν ἁγίων.

(3) Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντα κατὰ γνώμην καλῶς συνήλθε τῇ βασιλίδι καὶ ὡς αὐτῇ θελητόν — τοῖς γὰρ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν —, ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ Μιχαήλ, ὃν δὴ τῆς βασιλείας εἶχε κληρονόμον, γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀγαγέσθαι καὶ περιβλέπτων, γένους μὲν εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ σεμνυνομένου πίστει, ἀρετῆς δὲ διαφέρουσας κάλλει καὶ ψυχῆς εὐγενείᾳ, καὶ σώματος ὥρα διαπρεπῇ καὶ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὴν νικῶσαν παρθένους² καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπέμποντο γῆν, ὅση τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑποτελῆς ἐτύγγανε βασιλείᾳ.

6 Ἄλλων οὖν ἁλλαχόθεν, ὅσοι παρθένους ἔτρεφον τοιαύτας, 604D ἐτοιμαζόντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδι πόλιν παραπεμπόντων αὐτάς, καὶ οἱ τῆς θαυμαστῆς Εἰρήνης πατέρες, ἧς ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦς τρόπους βούλεται διηγήσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἀρετῆς ὥρα ταύτην οὕτω δὴ καὶ σώματος κάλλει διαβεβοημένην ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν, ὅθεν ὥρμητο, πολυτελῶς εὖ μάλα καὶ κοσμίως εὐτρεπίσαντες πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀποστέλλουσι, σὺν αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἣτις ὕστερον καὶ τῷ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖῳ τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαήλ, τῷ καίσαρι Βάρδᾳ, πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἐχρημάτισεν, ἀνδρὶ τᾶλλα μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳ, φθόνῳ δὲ διόλου τηκομένῳ καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς χαίροντι καὶ φόνοις.

Ὡς οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυσον οἱ τὰς παρθένους ἄγοντες, ἔδει δὲ τούτους διὰ τῆς Μυσίας περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας διέρχεσθαι τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, ἀκούσασα ἡ σεμνοτάτη παρθένος Εἰρήνη τὰ κατὰ τὸν

PLSK

1 δέησις ἰσχύει inv. SK || 10 ἐπέμπετο LSK || 14 θαυμασίας LSK

1 μεγάλα . . . ἐνεργουμένη: cf. Iac. 5,16 || 1—2 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἁγίων: Ps. 88(89),8 || 4—5 τοῖς γὰρ . . . τὸ ἀγαθόν: Rom. 8,28

3. ¹ For a discussion of the following episode, cf. Introduction, Ch. I. 2, *supra*.

² According to *VEustr*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 389,18—19, a woman called Theodosia was married to Bardas. This detail must have been unknown to the author of *VI*, where Irene's sister remains anonymous (cf. F. Dvorník, 'Patriarch Ignatius and Caesar Bardas', *BSI*, 27 [1966], 7—22, esp. 17—19, where information from *VI* and *VEustr* is too uncritically combined). Here she is a shadowy figure whom the author seems to forget before the company enters Constantinople. When she appears again (*infra*, ch. 12)

shalt save thy husband? Surely, the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. Surely, God is glorified in the assembly of the saints.'

3. The Bride-Show Irene Meets St Ioannikios

As all the Empress' designs had succeeded in accordance with her wishes—for *all things work together for good to them that love God*—, she decided to bring home a bride for her son Michael, whom she held as heir to the Empire.¹ The girl should belong to the illustrious and outstanding and to a pious family who took pride in the Orthodox faith, she should excel in moral beauty and spiritual nobility, and be distinguished by corporeal fairness so as to surpass all girls of her age. A proclamation about this was sent throughout all the land that was subject to the Empire of the Romans.

People who reared such girls prepared them and had them escorted from their various lands to the Imperial City. Thus the admirable Irene, whose mode of life this writing will narrate from the beginning, a woman renowned for moral grace and corporeal beauty alike, was given a most rich and splendid outfit by her parents, who sent her to Constantinople from Cappadocia whence she drew her origin. Along with her they sent her sister, who was later married to the Caesar Bardas,² the maternal uncle of the Emperor Michael, a man otherwise³ worth nothing, all consumed by envy and rejoicing in robberies and murders.

In the course of the journey the girls and their escort had to pass through Mysia near the spurs of Mount Olympus.⁴ The reverend virgin

her role is merely that of an intermediary between her husband and her sister.

³ The phrase τᾶλλα μὲν . . . , . . . δὲ . . . here lacks the contrastive force which normally makes its first part approximate to a concessive clause. For the normal use, cf., e.g., *VConstIud*, ed. Delehaye 648C, ἀνὴρ τᾶλλα μὲν ἀγαθός . . . , τοῦτ' ὁ δ' ἡττώμενος . . . τῷ διαβολαῖς παρέχειν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὄντα; also, text. cit., 654E.

⁴ On Mt Olympus (more generally connected with Bithynia) and its monasteries, see Van den Gheyn's *commentarius praeuius* to *VIoann*, pp. 322—325 (nos. 27—31); B. Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris, 1935) (for *VI*, cf. esp. 81 f.); Janin, *Grands centres*, 127—191. — The following story may be compared with *VTheodorImp*, ed. Markopoulos 3,31—38 (= Regel, 4,22—29): Theodora, on her way to the bride-show for Theophilos, heard about a holy man living in seclusion 'in the tower of Nicomedia' (he was called

μέγαν Ἰωαννίκιον, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτημάτων οὐδ' ὁρατός ἐστιν αἰεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὡς ἀξίοις οἰκονομία θειοτέρᾳ ἐμφανισθεῖη, μεῖζον τοῦ ἔργου τὸ πάρεργον ἡγησαμένη, τί μὲν οὐκ ἔλεγε, τί δὲ οὐκ ἐποίει πείσαι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνεληλυθέναι καὶ εἶγε δῶν κύριος, φησί, καὶ ὅψεως αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν καὶ ὁμιλίας καὶ εὐχῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνυσιμωτάτων
 E ἀξιωθῆναι· πείθονται τοίνυν μόλις καὶ ταύτην ἄγουσι πρὸς τὸν ὅσιον.
 7 Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν πόρρωθεν ἐρχομένην, καὶ τῷ διορατικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρίσματι προθεωρήσας εἰς οἶον ἄρα καταντήσκει τέλος αὐτῇ τὰ τοῦ βίου, μήπω πλησίον γενομένην φησί πρὸς αὐτήν· 'Καλῶς ἦλθες, ἡ δούλη τοῦ θεοῦ Εἰρήνη· σπεῦδε, τέκνον, πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν χαίρουσα, σπεῦδε, χρειὰν γάρ σου ἔχει ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου, ὅπως ποιμαίνης τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ παρθένους.' Ἡ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε τὸ ἑαυτῆς ὄνομα, ἐκθαμβος ὅλη γενομένη τῷ ἐδάφει προσέρριπεν ἑαυτὴν πρὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ποδῶν, εὐχὴν προσδεχομένη καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐλογίαν. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ῥημάτων οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐμέλησεν αὐτῇ — 'Τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ κοινόν', ἔλεγε, 'καὶ τῷ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ;' —, μόνη δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡ κλῆσις εἰς ἐκπληξιν αὐτὴν ἤγε, λογιζομένην ὅπως ἦν οὐδέποτε ἐθεάσατο καὶ περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἠκηκόει ὀνομαστὶ προσηγόρευσεν. Ἀναστήσας οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ ὅσιος καὶ λόγοις πνευματικοῖς στηρίζας, εὐχαῖς δὲ καὶ εὐλογίαις ἐφοδιάσας, ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πληρῶσαι τὴν προκειμένην ὁδόν.
 8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέλαβον, ἐξίασι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅσοι τε κατοίκησιν εἶχον ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ ὅσοις ἦν περὶ τινῶν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαίων ἐπιδημία, τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ βουλῆς ὄντες καὶ

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5 ὥστε: ὡς P || δώσει P || 20 ἠκηκόει correxi: ἠκόει codd. || 26 an suppl. <μετέχ>οντες? (cf. *VMichMal*, ed. Petit 551,7—8, βουλῆς τε συγκλήτου μετέχοντα)

22 ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ: cf. Lc. 2,29

Isaiah; cf. D. Stiernon in *REB*, 35 [1977], 6—11). When she approached him he predicted her future as 'Empress of the Christians'. Ph. Bouboulis, *Studies in the History of Modern Greek Story-Motives* (Thessalonike, 1953), 11, seems to regard one of the episodes as dependent on the other. Some connection is probable, but the motif belonged to the hagiographic repertoire; cf., e.g., *VEuthymIun*, ed. Petit 174,2—175,8 (with St Ioannikios in the same role as here); *VMichMal*, ed. Petit 553,2ff.

Irene had heard what was told about the great Ioannikios, for instance that he, in addition to his other virtues, would not always be visible⁵ to all who wished it, but only appeared, by divine dispensation, to those who were worthy of it. Giving a digression priority to the main track,⁶ she left nothing unspoken nor undone to persuade her escort to let her climb up to him and, if the Lord would permit, see him, talk with him, and be blessed with his efficacious prayers. Finally they were persuaded and led her up to the holy man.

Seeing her approach from a distance, he foresaw with the divining endowment of his soul what course her life would take and said to her even before she was near him, 'Welcome, Irene, servant of God! Hasten, my child, with joy to the Imperial City, hasten! The Convent of Chrysobalanton needs you to shepherd her virgins!' When she heard her name she was all amazed and threw herself to the ground before his feet, awaiting a prayer and a blessing from him. She cared little about the rest of his words—'What has Chrysobalanton to do with me?', she thought—, it was only the calling of her name that startled her, as she considered how he had addressed by name one whom he had never seen nor heard about. The holy man had her stand up, supported her with spiritual words, gave her provisions of prayers and blessings, and let her *depart in peace* to accomplish the journey that lay before her.

When they arrived in the city, all those of her kin who lived there or were staying there for some important business went out to meet her. They both wished to see with their own eyes a woman whom they had long desired to behold, and held her in respect as the probable fiancée of the Emperor. As holders of patrician dignity they belonged to the council and

⁵ To be invisible is sometimes a sign of sanctity; cf., e.g., the case of Constantine the Jew who was made invisible to a band of Arabs when praying in a church (*VConstIud*, ed. Delehaye 638EF ff.); and of Ioannikios, of whom his biographer Peter reports three episodes of this kind (*VIoann* a. Petro, ed. Van den Gheyn 413A—C; 424AB). The real point here is, on the contrary, that Ioannikios was made *visible* 'to the worthy' by God's dispensation. From the point of view of a contemporary witness (like Irene) this would be hard to understand. It is easily explicable, however, if we regard Ioannikios as the author did, i.e. as an established saint, long since dead. For the idea, cf. *VASal*, PG 111, 728A τὸν γὰρ ἄγγελον οὐχ ἐώρων ὡς ἀνάξιοι; cf. also *ApophthPatr*, PG 65, 96C.

⁶ On the origin of this old antithesis, see the *note complémentaire* on *VPorph*, edd. Grégoire & Kugener, ch. 9,24—28 (p. 89), cited by G. Rossi Taibbi in his commentary on *VEISic*, ll. 845—847 (p. 162). For additional examples, cf. Isid. Pelus., *Ep.* V 108 (PG 78, 1388C), and, from hagiography, e.g. *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 86,8; *VEuthymPatr*, ed. Karlin-Hayter 101,14; *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye, 217,5.

προεδρίας καὶ μεγάλα παρὰ βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι, ἅτε τῶν πατρικίων ἔχοντες τιμάς (οὓς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐκάλουν Γουβέριους, πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ περιβλέπτους καὶ ἀρετῇ περιβοήτους), ἅμα μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἱμειρόμενοι ἦν πρὸ πολλοῦ θεάσασθαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ

Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔδει πάντως νικῆσαι τὸν ἀγαθῶν ψυχῶν ἐραστὴν, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλευόντων, ὃς τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα καλεῖ καὶ τὰ μήπω γεγονότα ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα ἀφορίζει· ἔφθασε γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ συναφθῆναι γυνή, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα σοφῶς πάντως οἰκονομοῦντος, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον Εἰρήνην εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀγάγηται θάλαμον. 10 Ὅπερ ὡς ἦκεν εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῇ θαυμασίᾳ Εἰρήνῃ, χαρᾶς ἐπλησε τὴν 9 ψυχὴν καὶ τῷ θεῷ μεγάλας ἐκείνη τὰς χάριτας ὡμολόγει. Πολλῶν οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσι καὶ πρώτοις τῆς πόλεως διὰ τε τὸ κάλλος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ γένους περιφάνειαν πρὸς γάμον αὐτὴν ἐλκόντων, οὐδὲ ψιλῇ παραδέξασθαι ἀκοῇ τοῦτο ἠνείχετο, ἀλλ' ὅλη ψυχῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῷ 15 Χριστῷ νυμφευθῆναι καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ διὰ παντὸς ἀρέσκειν ἐπεπόθησεν.

605A 4. Πάντων τοίνυν ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν γῆινων ἀποσεισαμένη τὸν πόθον, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας διεσκοπεῖτο καὶ διηρεῦνα 20 τόπον κατοικίας, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἡσύχιον καὶ θεάρεστον μετελεύσεται βίον, πάσης ταραχῆς καὶ θορύβων ἀπηλλαγμένη. Πολλὴν δὲ περὶ τούτου τὴν ἔρευναν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ποιουμένη τὴν πόλιν, μόλις ποτὲ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἦλθε τῶν προρρηθέντων αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωαννικίου· καὶ παραυτίκα τῶν ἄλλων ἀφεμένη πέμπει διὰ σπουδῆς

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2 an leg. ὀνομαστί? (cf. supra 10,20, infra 40,17) || 17 ἐπόθησεν LSK || 20 εὐάρεστον P

6—7 τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλευόντων: 1 Tim. 6,15 || 7 ὃς . . . καλεῖ: cf. Rom. 4,17

⁷ A model for this phrase seems to be Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 6 (PG 35, 1176B), συγκλήτου βουλῆς μετουσία καὶ προεδρία. Syntax (the vague genitive with ὄντες) and logic (βουλή and προεδρία as parallel constituents of the Senate) of our passage leave something to be desired; cf. app. crit. — There is no need to see here any reference to the dignity of πρόεδρος τῆς συγκλήτου. Examples of similar phrases from hagiography may be multiplied whereas the title, created by Nikephoros Phokas, was extremely rare. Originally it had only one titular (a eunuch) at a time; see Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 299. Here, in addition, such a reference would be a harsh anachronism. Cf. O. Lampsides's discussion of the phrase πρώτον . . . τῆς συγκλήτου in his edition of *VNicMet*, p. 432. — No overall study on the Senate in Byzantium exists. For some important aspects, see A. Christophilopoulou, *Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος* (Athens, 1949) ('Ακαδ.

presidency of the Senate⁷ and had great influence with the Emperors; they were called the Goubers, people admired for wealth and glory and renowned for their virtue.

But assuredly the Lover of good souls was to be victorious, the *King of kings*, He who calls *those things which be not as though they were* and appoints those things which have not yet happened as though they already had. For a woman⁸ had anticipated Irene in being married to the Emperor, certainly because of God's wise dispensation, that He might bring His virgin Irene to His own chamber. When this reached the ears of the wonderful Irene, it filled her soul with joy and she offered great thanks to God. Many among the magnates and the foremost of the city tried to induce her to marry⁹ because of her beauty and the prominence of her family. But she did not endure even to listen to this, no, with all her heart and soul she desired to become the bride of Christ and always to satisfy Him alone.

4. Irene Enters Religion at Chrysobalanton

Disdaining all things of this life and shaking off the desire for earthly goods she daily searched and made inquiries for a dwelling-place in which to pursue her God-pleasing contemplative life, a place secluded from all kinds of noise and disturbances.¹ Making thorough search all over the city, at last she recalled the prediction spoken to her² by the great Ioannikios. At once she abandoned all else and speedily sent men to search

⁷ Ἀθηνῶν, Ἐπετ. τοῦ ἀρχεῖου τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ δικαίου, 2); H.-G. Beck, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1966) (Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsab., 1966, 6).

⁸ Eudokia Dekapolitissa, whom Michael married in 855.

⁹ πρὸς γάμον αὐτὴν ἐλκόντων: cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 56 (PG 36, 568A).

4. ¹ Suitable surroundings are essential for monasteries. There are, consequently, many parallels to the following passage. Cf., e.g., *VEuthymPatr*, ed. Karlin-Hayter 27,14 ff., περισκοποῦντος . . . , εἴ που ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδειότητα τόπου πρὸς μονὴν ἐφεύροτο ἀπωκτισμένον τῶν θορύβων καὶ ἡσυχον; *VLuclun*, PG 111, 461A, χωρίον . . . μὴ μόνον εὖ ἔχον ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀέρος ἐν καλῷ κείμενον; further *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 909C; *VAlypStyl*, ed. Delehaye 174,33—34; *VAthanAthon A*, ed. Noret 37,32 ff.

² Cf. *supra*, 10,12—14.

τοὺς τὴν μονὴν ἀναζητήσοντας τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου. Μαθοῦσα δὲ ὡς ἐν καλῷ εἶη διακειμένη τῆς πόλεως μέρει, εὐκράτως μὲν ἀέρος ἔχουσα, ἀγορῶν τε πόρρω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχλήσεων ὠκισμένη, ἄρτι 10 δὲ σεμνεῖον εἰς γυναικεῖον μεταμειφθεῖσα — ἡ γὰρ τῶν εἰκονομάχων τυραννὶς τὸ ἱερὸν σχῆμα τῶν μοναζόντων διὰ τὸ μέλαν ὡς ἄγος τι 5 τῆς πόλεως ἀπελαύνουσα, πολλὰ τῶν μοναστηρίων ἔρημα τῶν ἐνοικούντων καταλέλοιπε μοναχῶν, ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ διεσκεδασμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν μετῆλλαχόντων, τῶν δὲ καὶ μακρυνόντων, φυγαδευόντων, τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀπηγορευκότων —, ὡς οὖν ἤκουσε ταῦτα, ἐχάρη τε λίαν 10 B καὶ πάντα προθύμως τὰ προσόντα περιδέραιά τε καὶ κόσμια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παρὰ τῆς βασιλίδος φιλοτίμως ὑποδεχθεῖσα ὡς βασιλικὰς ἐκτήσατο δωρεάς, τὰ μὲν πένησι καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῆς θεραπαινίσιν διένειμε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μονὴν φέρουσα τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθετο. Καὶ οὕτως 15 κείρεται μὲν τὴν κόμην, συναποκείρεται δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ πᾶν εἶτι 15 κοσμικὸν καὶ πρόσγειον φρόνημα, μεταμφιέννυται δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων, τρίχινα περιβαλλομένη ῥάκια, τρύχειν οἷα δὴ θέλουσα τὸ ἀπαλὸν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα καὶ τρυφερόν, ἵν' ὅσον ἐκεῖνο φθείρεται, τοσοῦτο τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαινιζομένην ἔχει καὶ ἀναθάλλουσαν καὶ θεῷ 20 προσεγγίζουσαν.

606F 11 5. Ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν τὴν μετὰ χαρᾶς τὸν ἐθελούσιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγὸν ὑπελθοῦσαν Εἰρήνην πρὸς πᾶσαν κατὰ θεὸν ὑπακοὴν οὐ μόνον ἐπιτήδειαν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐτοιμον, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῇ πληροῦσθαι τὸ 'χρηστὸν εἶναι τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὸ φορτίον ἑλαφρόν' τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς 25 εὐχαρίστως ἔλκουσιν. Ἀντιλογίαν μὲν γὰρ ὅλως οὐκ ἤδει, παρὰ 25 πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις αὐτῇ ὄκνος ἀπῆν, ἐργήγορσις

PLSK

10 οὖν om. P || 15 ταύτη: αὐτῇ LSK || 19 ἔχει LS (K legere nequeo)

9 μακρυνόντων φυγαδευόντων: cf. Ps. 54(55),8 || 18—19 φθείρεται . . . ἀνακαινιζομένην: cf. 2 Cor. 4,16 || 24 χρηστὸν . . . ἑλαφρόν: cf. Mt. 11,30

³ For 'black' as ἄγος, cf. *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 658E, [a cook black with soot] ὡς ἄγος . . . καταφρονούμενος. On the iconoclastic persecution of monks, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1977), 121 ff.

⁴ St Theodora of Thessalonica, entering religion at a convent where her relative Anna is

for the Convent of Chrysobalanton. When she learned that it was situated in a beautiful part of the city, with temperate air, lying far from market-places and other annoyances, and had been recently turned into a nunnery—for the tyranny of the Iconoclasts had banished the monks from the city as a pollution because of the black colour³ of their sacred habit, and left many of the monasteries devoid of their inhabitants who had been scattered in various directions, some of the monks having left this life with the lapse of time, others *wandering far off* and living in exile without hope of return—, when she heard this, she felt great joy. The necklaces and jewels she wore, and all other things that she kept as imperial gifts ever since she had been liberally received by the Empress, all these she willingly either distributed to the poor and to her own servants or brought to the convent as an offering to God.⁴ Then she had her hair shorn, and with it was shorn, too, all her mundane and earthly concern.⁵ She also changed her dress, arraying herself in a ragged hair-shirt, as she wished to wear out that tender and delicate body to have a soul that was *renewed* and flourished and approached God to the same extent as the body *perished*.⁶

5. The Beginning of Irene's Asceticism

Thus one could see that Irene, joyfully shouldering the voluntary yoke of Christ, was not only able but also always prepared to obey God in all, so that in her was carried out the word, 'Christ's *yoke is easy* and His *burden is light* for those who bear it thankfully'. She was wholly unable to raise contradictions. She showed absolutely no hesitation before any

abbess, disposes of her possessions in a similar way, although she brings three of her servants with her to the monastery; see *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 12, ch. 20 (Kurtz, 12,17 ff.). Cf. J. Herrin, 'In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach', in: *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Av. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (London, 1983), 167—190, esp. 181.

⁵ Cf. *VThomLesb*, ed. Delehaye 236B, ἀποκείρεται μὲν τὴν τρίχα, συναποκείρεται δὲ καὶ τύρβην βιωτικὴν; *VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 9,24—25, τὴν τε κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκείρεται καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ πᾶν εἰ τι λείψανον κοσμικῆς φροντίδος ὑποσμύχον αὐτὸν ἦν.

⁶ This NT passage appears similarly reshaped (with ὅσον . . . τοσοῦτο) in *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz 15,14—15.

ἀειθαλῆς παρ' αὐτῇ· κατάνυξις δὲ ἀδιάλειπτος καὶ ἀγαλλίασις
τοσαύτη πνευματικὴ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον θάλλον ἔχουσιν αἰ τὴν
τῆς καρδίας εὐφροσύνην ἐμφαίνειν, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον.

Εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν καθηγουμένην ἐπιστημόνως αὐτὴν πρὸς τὰ
κάλλιστα διεγείρουσάν τε καὶ διερεθίζουσιν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
χάριν μυστικῶς ἐπισκιάζουσιν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα διδάσκουσιν.
'Χωρὶς γὰρ ἐμοῦ', φησὶν ὁ κύριος, 'οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν, καὶ ὁ
μένων ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος φέρει καρπὸν πολύν.' Καὶ μέντοι
607A καὶ ἤνεγκεν, ὡς γῆ καλὴ τε καὶ πίων τὸν θεῖον σπὸρον δεξαμένη καὶ
12 κεκαθαρισμένη πάσης ὑλικῆς προσπαθείας καὶ σχέσεως. Ψυχὴ γὰρ
τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπῶσα, σώματι κεχρημένη παρθενικῶ, ταχέως εὕρισκει
τὴν θεῖαν χάριν ἐφιπταμένην καὶ πάντα γινομένην αὐτῇ. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς
τὴν ἀδελφότητα μέτριον αὐτῆς καὶ ταπεινὸν θαῦμα ἦν οὐ μόνον τῇ
προεστώσῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἑώρα γὰρ πάσας τὰς
ἀδελφὰς ὡς βασιλίδας θεραπαινίδας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας τούτων
15 ὑπηρεσίας ἐκάστη προσφέρουσα.

Οὕτω δὲ προσέκειτο ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς καὶ οὕτως ἐνησχόλητο
τοῖς τῶν πατέρων βίοις, πᾶν εἶτι καλὸν καὶ πρόσφορον ἐρανίζουσα,
ὡς στόμα δοκεῖν τῶν θεοπνευστῶν εἶναι ῥημάτων. Καὶ ποτε τῷ βίῳ
τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀρσενίου ἐντυχοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στάσιν
κατανοήσασα, ὅπως ἐκτεταμένης ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας εἰστήκει μὲν πρὸς
ἀνατολὰς, περὶ δυσμὰς ἀρχόμενος ἡλίου, κατέληγε δὲ τῆς στάσεως,
ὅτε τὰς αὐτοῦ κατέλαμψεν ἀνατείλας ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, εἰς ἔρωτα τῆς
ἴσης τῷ γενναίῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλθοῦσα
B 13 τῷ θεῷ παράστασιν, κοινοῦται τοῦτο καὶ τῇ προεστώσῃ. Ἡ δὲ πρῶτα
μὲν ὥκνει κατανεῦσαι, τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πράγματος προσαποροῦσα· ὡς
δὲ ταύτην εἶχε δυσωποῦσαν ἐπὶ πλεόν καὶ συνεργοὺς πρὸς τὴν
ἐγχείρησιν τὰς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐπιζητοῦσαν εὐχὰς, τῷ μετρίῳ τοῦ

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PI(inc. a τῷ μετρίῳ lin. 28)LSK

11 in marg. add. γνωμικόν PL || 15 τούτων post ἐκάστη (lin. 16) tr. P || 17
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³ Cf. LSI, s.v. ἴσος II.1.

ἀειθαλῆς παρ' αὐτῇ· κατάνυξις δὲ ἀδιάλειπτος καὶ ἀγαλλίασις
τοσαύτη πνευματικὴ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον θάλλον ἔχουσιν αἰετὴν
τῆς καρδίας εὐφροσύνην ἐμφαίνειν, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον.

Εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν καθηγουμένην ἐπιστημόνως αὐτὴν πρὸς τὰ
κάλλιστα διεγείρουσάν τε καὶ διερεθίζουσιν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
χάριν μυστικῶς ἐπισκιάζουσιν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα διδάσκουσιν.
'Χωρὶς γὰρ ἐμοῦ', φησὶν ὁ κύριος, 'οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν, καὶ ὁ
μένων ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος φέρει καρπὸν πολύν.' Καὶ μέντοι
607A καὶ ἤνεγκεν, ὡς γῆ καλὴ τε καὶ πῖον τὸν θεῖον σπὸρον δεξαμένη καὶ
12 κεκαθαρισμένη πάσης ὕλικῆς προσπαθείας καὶ σχέσεως. Ψυχὴ γὰρ
τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπῶσα, σώματι κεχρημένη παρθενικῷ, ταχέως εὐρίσκει
τὴν θεῖαν χάριν ἐφιπταμένην καὶ πάντα γινομένην αὐτῇ. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς
τὴν ἀδελφότητα μέτριον αὐτῆς καὶ ταπεινὸν θαῦμα ἦν οὐ μόνον τῇ
προεστώσῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἑώρα γὰρ πάσας τὰς
ἀδελφὰς ὡς βασιλίδας θεραπαινίδας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας τούτων
15 ὑπηρεσίας ἐκάστη προσφέρουσα.

Οὕτω δὲ προσέκειτο ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς καὶ οὕτως ἐνησχόλητο
τοῖς τῶν πατέρων βίοις, πᾶν εἶτι καλὸν καὶ πρόσφορον ἐρανίζουσα,
ὡς στόμα δοκεῖν τῶν θεοπνευστῶν εἶναι ῥημάτων. Καὶ ποτε τῷ βίῳ
τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀρσενίου ἐντυχοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στάσιν
κατανοήσασα, ὅπως ἐκτεταμένης ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας εἰστήκει μὲν πρὸς
ἀνατολὰς, περὶ δυσμὰς ἀρχόμενος ἡλίου, κατέληγε δὲ τῆς στάσεως,
ὅτε τὰς αὐτοῦ κατέλαμψεν ἀνατείλας ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, εἰς ἔρωτα τῆς
ἰσῆς τῷ γενναίῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλθοῦσα
B 13 τῷ θεῷ παράστασιν, κοινοῦται τοῦτο καὶ τῇ προεστώσῃ. Ἡ δὲ πρῶτα
μὲν ὠκνεῖ κατανεῦσαι, τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πράγματος προσαποροῦσα· ὡς
δὲ ταύτην εἶχε δυσωποῦσαν ἐπὶ πλεόν καὶ συνεργοὺς πρὸς τὴν
ἐγχείρησιν τὰς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐπιζητοῦσαν εὐχὰς, τῷ μετρίῳ τοῦ

PLSK

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φρονήματος θαρρήσασα τῆς Ειρήνης καὶ μηδ' ἄθεεϊ τὴν προθυμίαν ταύτης εἶναι λογισαμένη, κατένευσέ τε καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν.

Ἡ δὲ καθάπερ εἰς ἀνάκλισιν τινα καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπαυσιν, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν ἔδραμε χαίρουσα, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ πλέον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἀγῶνα μετερχομένη. Ἀρξαμένη γοῦν τῆς 5 στάσεως κατ' ὀλίγον, ἐν ὀλίγῳ τῆς θείας αὐτῇ συνεφαπτομένης χάριτος ἄνωθεν, παρὰ τοσοῦτον εἰς κατόρθωσιν ἦλθε τοῦ πράγματος, ὥς ὅλας μὲν νύκτας, ὅλας δὲ ἡμέρας τῇ στάσει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν ἐκτείνουσιν πρὸς οὐρανὸν μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ἀρχομένη τῆς στάσεως τοῦ ἡλίου 10 πρὸς δυσμὰς ὄντος μέχρι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔληγεν ἐσπέρας, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος τὴν ἐπιούσαν πάλιν ἴστατο ἀνατολὴν προσδεχομένη. Καὶ ἦν θαῦμα τῇ προεστώσῃ ταῦτα, ἦν μόνην συνίστορα τῶν πραττομένων ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ τὸν ἐν κρυπτῷ βλέποντα 15 θεόν. Ὅτις ἡνίκα τὴν Εἰρήνην μειδιῶντι προσώπῳ καὶ ὑπόπλεω πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐρυθήματος ἐρχομένην ἑώρα, βλέμματί τε γαληνῷ καὶ κάτω νεύοντι καὶ λαλιᾷ πραεῖα προσφθεγγομένην, ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σημείων καὶ τὸ τῆς στάσεως ἔτεκμηριοῦτο μέτρον.

14 6. Ἐπὶ τρισὶν οὖν ἔτεσιν οὕτως ἔχουσιν περὶ τοὺς ἀσκητικοὺς ἀγῶνας βλέπων ὁ πονηρὸς ἡσχαλλεν, ἡνιᾶτο, ἐδυσφόρει· οὐδὲ γὰρ 20 εἶχεν ὅπως αὐτὴν ταῖς οἰκείαις πάγαις ἀλώσιμον θήσεται, ὅτι μὴδὲ τῶν ὅσα καθ' ἡμῶν πολεμῶν λαμβάνει, παρ' αὐτῆς εἶχε λαβεῖν. Χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετο, ὥς μὴδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τοῦ ἐνὸς χιτωνίου καὶ τριβωνίου καὶ 25 βραχυτάτοις κεκρήσθαι πρὸς τὸ μόνον ἀποζῆν ἄρτω καὶ ὕδατι, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ λαχάνοις λίαν ὀλίγοις, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐσπέραν· δόξης δὲ οὕτω καταπεφρόνηκεν, ὥς μὴδ' αὐτὰ (τὰ) τῶν τῆς μονῆς προαυλίων αἰσχύνεσθαι περικαθαίρειν ῥυπάσματα. Ὅμως τῷ ἰδίῳ καὶ συνήθει φθόνῳ χρώμενος λογισμοὺς ὑποβάλλειν ἤρξατο, τῆς προτέρας δόξης καὶ τῆς τοῦ γένους περιφανείας ἀναμνησκων, τοῦ πλούτου τε καὶ 30

PILSK

6 συνεφαπτομένη P || 10 μὲν γὰρ: γὰρ γὰρ P || 12 ἴστατο πάλιν inv. ILSK
|| 21 θήσεται I || fort. scr. μὴδὲν

14 τὸν . . . βλέποντα: cf. Mt. 6,4 || 24 μὴδὲν . . . χιτωνίου: cf. Mt. 10,10

sented, taking confidence in the humbleness of Irene's mind and taking into account that her zeal would not lack the help of God.

She ran to her exercises with joy as if to recline and rest her body, and that though she had not pursued her ascetic struggle for more than a year. She began her standing exercise little by little, but shortly, as divine grace joined her from on high,⁴ she reached so far in ascetic mastership that with all eagerness she endured standing for whole nights and whole days, stretching her hands to heaven. Sometimes her standing began when the sun was setting and ended the following evening, sometimes she began to stand when the sun rose, awaiting the following sunrise. This was a wonder to the abbess whom alone, second to God who *sees in secret*, she made privy to her activities. When she saw Irene approach her, with a smile and a blush⁵ on her face, talking to her with calm and downcast eyes and in gentle speech, then from these signs she concluded about the measure of her standing exercises.

6. Irene Tempted by the Devil

Seeing her prosecute the ascetic struggle in this way for three years, the Evil One was grieved, distressed, and vexed. He was unable to make her an easy prey for his own traps, because from her he could get nothing of what he gets in his war against us. Money and luxury and glory she shunned so much that she did not own more than one frock and one cloak.¹ Her food was a minimal amount of bread and water, just enough to live off, sometimes with some vegetables, and that in the evening. Prestige she so disdained that she was not ashamed even to clean the dirt from the forecourts of the convent. Yet in his usual envy the Devil began to instil evil thoughts in her, reminding her of her former glory and the prominence of her family, of her wealth and abundance of delights,

⁴ τῆς θείας . . . ἄνωθεν: cf., e.g., *VAthanAthon* B, ed. Noret 25,2.

⁵ Cf. Bas. Caes., *Ep.* XLVI 2,31 (ed. Courtonne, p. 118), καλὸν μὲν τὸ ἐξ αἰδοῦς ἐρύθημα. For κάτω νεύοντι, cf. note 1 on ch. 16, *infra*.

6. ¹ Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 61 (PG 36, 576B), and see *infra*, ch. 11, *ad fin*.

τῆς τῶν ἡδέων ἀφθονίας, εἴτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὕπουλον καὶ μαλακὸν ὑποχαλᾶν. Ἡ δὲ τῷ κεκαθαρμένῳ τῆς διανοίας ὄμματι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι ταῦτα τοῦ πονηροῦ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα, παραντίκα πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους διαλογισμοὺς ἀνακαλύπτει τῇ ὁδηγῷ καὶ 5
608D καθηγουμένη, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐξαγορευσεως ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρούσα τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν προτέρων ὁμοίως ἀγώνων εἶχετο.

15 Μῖα δὲ ποτε τῶν νυκτῶν τὰς συνήθεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ποιουμένης προσευχάς, ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀντίπαλος, εἰς μέλανα καὶ δυσειδῆ σχηματισθεὶς ἄνδρα, παραστὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ὕβριζε τε θρασέως καὶ ἠπειλεῖ, γοητείας καὶ περιεργιῶν ἐργάτιν ὀνομάζων αὐτήν, καὶ 10
σοβαρευόμενος ἐκφοβεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τέλος “Εμοί”, φησὶν, “ἀντιτάσσει; μικρὸν ἀνάμεινον καὶ γνώσει πάντως, ὅστις ἐγὼ καὶ ἦτις ἢ ἐμὴ δύναμις.” Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσειπεῖν ἐθέλων, ὥς εἶδεν αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνουσαν τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαράξαι κατ’αὐτοῦ 15
σημεῖον, φυγὰς ᾤχετο.

Καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς σφοδρότεροι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπιτίθενται ταύτῃ λογισμοί, δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐκταράσσοντες καὶ θορυβοῦντες καὶ εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐμβάλλοντες. Ὅμως ἐπειδὴ συνεχῶς τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν 20
θεῶν προσεῖχε γραφῶν, ἐκείνου μνημονεύουσα τοῦ τῶν πατέρων ῥήματος, ὥς “Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἱκανὸς ἀντιστρατεύσασθαι τῷ 20
πονηρῷ, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ σκέπῃ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων προσπεφυγῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πίστεως τὸν ἐχθρὸν
E κατατοξεύσει καὶ καταβάλῃ”, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καταφεύγει, μεσίτας προβαλλομένη τὴν πανάμωμον μητέρα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ 25
Χριστοῦ, τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων Μιχαήλ, τὸν 25
παρεστηκότα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ Γαβριήλ, οὗ καὶ τὸ τῆς μονῆς ἐπώνυμόν ἐστιν εὐκτήριον· καὶ πάσας τὰς οὐρανίας δυνάμεις πάντας
16 τε τοὺς ἁγίους ἐπικαλουμένη τοιαύτην συνετίθει τὴν εὐχήν· “Παναγία 26
τριάς παντοδύναμη καὶ μεγαλοδύναμη, τῇ μεσιτείᾳ τῆς θεοτόκου, τῇ 30
πρεσβείᾳ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριήλ 30
καὶ πασῶν τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, βοήθησον

PILSK

1 δὲ: τε S || καὶ om. P || ὑποῦλον P || 9 ὕβριζε: ὕβρεσι P || 10 ἠπειλεῖ
... περιεργιών: ἀπειλαῖς ἐβαλλε γοητειῶν P || 19 ἐκεῖνο ILSK || 21 ἐὰν: ἂν
P || 23 καταβαλεῖ ILSK || 26 παρεστῶτα P || 27 οὐρανίους P || 28
εὐχήν: add. tit. εὐχή P

25—26 τὸν παρεστηκότα ... Γαβριήλ: cf. Lc. 1,19

and then to make her yield to the unwholesome softness of pleasure.² But with her pure spiritual eye she perceived this to be part of the Evil One's plot and immediately revealed all these thoughts to her guide and abbeß. Finding relief from the attack through her confession, she persevered in her struggle as before.

One night, when she was reading her usual prayers to God, the adversary of our souls, in the guise of an ugly black man, took his stand at some distance from her. He insulted and threatened her arrogantly, calling her a doer of witchcraft and magic, and tried to frighten her with his insolence. Finally he said, ‘So you rise against me? Wait a little and you will certainly learn who I am and what my power is!’³ He was about to utter still more words, but when he saw her extend her right hand and make the sign of the cross against him, he fled.

The following day even more violent temptations than before assailed her, terribly agitating and bewildering her and reducing her to helplessness. Yet she kept reading continuously in the Divine Scriptures, calling to mind the word of the Fathers that says,⁴ ‘None among men is able to wage war against the Evil One unless he seeks refuge in the shelter of the Lord and God of hosts, and then, with the faith he has in him, strikes down and overthrows the fiend’. Therefore she took refuge in God, bringing forward as intercessors the all-blameless Mother of God and the Lord Jesus Christ, Michael, the archistrategus of the Lord of hosts, and *Gabriel that stands in the presence of God*, he who has given his name to the chapel of the convent. Invoking all the heavenly hosts and all the saints she composed the following prayer: ‘All-holy Trinity, omnipotent, magnipotent! Through the intercession of the Mother of God, through the mediation of Michael the archistrategus, of Gabriel the archangel, of all the heavenly hosts and all saints, help your servant. *Turn unto me and have mercy upon*

² Cf. P.P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire — démonologie critique au XI^e siècle. La vie inédite de S. Auxence par M. Psellos* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 15 (referring also to chs. 13 and 15, *infra*). For further references to VI in the context of roughly contemporary material, see op. cit., 13, 18, 23, 25. — The scene of temptation was a standardized feature in hagiography since the *Vita Antonii*. Cf., e.g., *VEISic*, ed. Rossi Taibbi, ch. 10, and the editor's extensive quotation from *VAnt* (845C ff.) in his commentary ad loc. (p. 133).

³ Cf., e.g., *VLucian*, Suppl., ed. Martini 105,11—12, μικρὸν ἐπίμεινον [speaks the demon] καὶ εἶση σαφῶς τίς οἶδε σφοδρότερον καίειν.

⁴ I have been unable to identify this quotation.

τῇ δούλῃ σου καὶ ἐπίβλεπον ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐλέησόν με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου.⁵ Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκτείνουσα τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανόν, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ γῇ καταβάλλουσα ἑαυτήν, ὅλας νύκτας καὶ ὅλας ἡμέρας δάκρυσι τὸ ἔδαφος πλύνουσα τῆς δεήσεως οὐκ ἀφίστατο, μέχρις οὐ θεῖαν ἀνωθεν ἐπισκίασασαν αὐτῆς ἑλλαμψιν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς διώκουσαν ἦσθετο λογισμοῦς.

Οὕτως οὖν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει προσκαρτεροῦσαν ὁρῶν ὁ ἐφορῶν τὰ ταπεινὰ κύριος καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν δοκιμάζων πόθον, πλουσίαν αὐτῇ καταπέμψας τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀπρόσιτον μὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ πονηροῦ κατειργάσατο προσβολαῖς, φοβερὰν δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι, καὶ μηκέτι μὲν ζῶσαν αὐτήν, ζῶντα δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὅλην τὴν ὅλην ἔνθεον, ὅλην πεφωτισμένην, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ φωτιστικὴν, ψυχὰς πολλῶν δυνατὴν ὁδηγεῖν πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐξάγουσαν ὡς 17 στόμα θεοῦ ἀξίας ἐξ ἀναξίων. Ὅθεν καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος ἔν τε τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἔν τε συγκλητικαῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις πρὸς αὐτὴν φοιτῶσαις καὶ τὰ σωτήρια διδασκομέναις, ὡς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κοσμικῆς μὲν καταφρονῆσαι ματαιότητος, μεταμεῖψαι δὲ τὸν βίον πρὸς τὸ θεάρεστον ὑπὸ συμβούλῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὁδηγῷ ταττομένης.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωαννικίου γεγεννημένης πρὸς αὐτὴν προρρήσεις μήτε διαπεσεῖν ἔδει καὶ τελείας ἀπηρτίσθαι, ἡγγίζεν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς τῇ καθηγουμένη τῆς μονῆς. Πασῶν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν αὐτῇ θυγατέρων τὴν ὀρφανίαν ὀλοφυρομένων, ὁ τῆς Εἰρήνης θρήνος πολλῶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερήρετο γυναικῶν, ὅτι 25 μὴδ' ἑτέραν τοσαύτην τούτων ὅση ταύτῃ καρδίας ὑπῆν συντριβὴ καὶ ταπεινώσεις, ἐξ ὧν τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐξαίρετον πηγάζει καὶ τῶν δακρύων ἢ εἰλικρινεστάτη ῥοὴ διὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν συνειδήσιν. Περικυκλοῦσαι δὲ τὴν κλίνην ἐν ἣ κατέκειτο τὰ τελευταῖα πνέουσα, αἱ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας

PILSK

12 ὅλην τὴν ὅλην: ὅλην P ὁ τὴν ὅλην I || 17 αὐτῶν om. P || 18 μὲν κοσμικῆς inv. P

1 ἐπίβλεπον . . . ἐλέησόν με: Ps. 85(86), 16 et sim. locc. || 8 ὁ ἐφορῶν . . . κύριος: cf. Ps. 112(113), 5—6; 137(138), 6 || 8—9 τὴν πίστιν . . . πόθον: cf. Ier. 11, 20 et sim. locc. || 11—12 μηκέτι . . . ἐν ἑαυτῇ: cf. Gal. 2, 20 || 14—15 ἐξάγουσαν . . . ἀναξίων: cf. Ier. 15, 19

⁵ Here as elsewhere (cf. the passages indicated in the Greek Index, s.vv. συγκλητικός, σύγκλητος) the author emphasizes the fact that many of Irene's visitors are of senatorial rank. This is a hagiographic cliché used since *VAnt* to illustrate the saint's influence over

me, and deliver me from the plotting of the fiend.' Now stretching her hands towards heaven, now throwing herself to the ground, she wetted the floor with tears for whole nights and whole days, and did not cease to pray until she perceived a divine irradiation overshadowing her soul from on high and chasing away the evil thoughts.

Seeing her persevere in invocation and prayer, the Lord, who has respect unto the lowly and tries our faith and devotion to Him, sent down the Spirit's grace to her abundantly and made her in future inaccessible to all the Evil One's attacks, but also terrifying to the demons. No longer did she live her own life, but had Christ living in her, all possessed by God, all illumined, or rather illumining, with the power to guide the souls of many to the light of truth, taking forth, as God's mouth, the precious from the vile. Therefore the rumour about her spread widely among her kin and among wives and daughters of senators,⁵ who approached her and learned the means of salvation. Many of them began to despise worldly vanity and change their lives so as to be pleasing to God, subordinating themselves to her as their counsellor and guide.

7. Irene Succeeding the Dead Abbess

As the prophecies that the blessed Ioannikios had spoken to her were not to come to naught, nay, were to be fulfilled, the end of life was drawing near for the abbess of the convent. All her spiritual daughters bewailed their orphanhood, but the lament of Irene by far exceeded that of the other women. No other of them possessed such contrition and humility of heart as she, and from such things the deepest love, the most purely flowing tears will spring for those whose conscience is clear. Surrounding the bed in which she lay breathing her last, they wiped her clean and embraced her and wetted her with tears, some taking care of her hands,

men's souls: although living in the desert or at least in most humble circumstances he could attract men and even women of the highest society. Such is the case with the desert father Arsenios (*VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 22, 18—20) as with the 10th-c. urban saint Basil the Younger (*VBlun*, fol. 30, ed. Vilinskij 301, 27 ff.). As a contrast Irene's aristocratic visitors represent her own social milieu. If they needed a spiritual guide, Irene was a natural option, for with her they could converse without degrading themselves socially. As a confirmation of her sanctity the aristocratic interest in her is therefore somewhat ambiguous. Contrast the different attitude in *VEuar*, ed. Van de Vorst 320, 37 f., συντρέχει δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, κτλ.; *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28, ch. 47, *ad fin.* (Kurtz, 28, 5), τοσοῦτοι . . . ἀπὸ πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ παντὸς τάγματος παρεγένοντο.

609A αὐτῆς, αἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ἄλλη ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος μέρος περιέψων, περιεπτύσσοντο καὶ δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχον. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσης ἔμπλεως ἀρετῆς ἢ καθηγημάτων, ἢ πραότης δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ 18 ἐπίσημον. Μόλις δὲ ποτε τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς ἀπεγνωκυῖαι ἡρέμα πως ἡρώτων θρηνηδοῦσαι, 'Ποῦ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς καταλιμπάνεις,' λέγουσαι, 5 'ποῦ ποτε τοιαύτης ἡμεῖς μετὰ σε τύχοιμεν προστάτιδος καὶ μητρὸς κηδεμονικώτερον περὶ ἡμᾶς διατεθειμένης, οὕτως ἀγαθῆς, οὕτω πραεῖας, οὕτως ἐκάστης ἡμῶν τὰ βάρη βασταζούσης καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναπληρούσης τοῦ Χριστοῦ;' Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ κλαίονσαι τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν ἐξοδον, εἰ οἷόν τε ἦν, κωλύσαι 10 φιλονεικοῦσαι, ἤκουσαν φωνῆς παρ' αὐτῆς ἰσχνῆς καὶ λίαν ἀμυδρᾶς καὶ ταῖς ὀξύτερον ἀκροαμέναις ἐνωτισθείσης· καὶ "Ἰνα τί μου", φησί, 'τὴν ψυχὴν συνταράσσετε ὀλολύζουσαι; Ἔχετε, τέκνα, ἔχετε τὴν καλῶς ὑμᾶς ποιμανοῦσαν· πιστεύσατε τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς οὖσαν, ὅσον ἐγὼ τῷ γῆρα ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναπέπνυται 15 ἐπ' αὐτῇ. Καὶ ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθησθε μὴ ἂν πρὸς ἑτέραν ἀποβλέψαι —, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὑμῶν Εἰρήνην λέγω, τὴν φωτὸς θυγατέρα, τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ παρακλήτου.' Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπούσα καὶ 'Δόξα τῷ ἔλεει σου, κύριε' τελευταῖον φθεγξαμένη χερσὶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων τὸ πνεῦμα παρέδωκεν. 20

19 Πάντα οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰ κατὰ νόμον ταφῆς ἐπιτελέσασαι καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἱερῶν κηδεύσασαι ταύτην σωμάτων, ἐπὶ φροντίδα τῆς μελλούσης αὐτῶν ἐστράφησαν προεστάναι. Συναθροισθεῖσαι τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ ναῷ, ὃν εὐκτήριον ὄντα τῆς μονῆς ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν οἶκον, πᾶσαι μὲν ἀπέβλεψαν κοινῇ γνώμη πρὸς 25 τὴν ἀξιόγαστον Εἰρήνην, οὐδὲν δὲ τὸ παράπαν πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρήκασιν περὶ τούτου, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ ταῦτας, ὑφορώμεναι, διαφυγοῦσα τῆς μονῆς· ἤδεισαν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ μέτριον τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἂν καταδέξαιτο τὴν προστασίαν, μὴ τῆς ἄνωθεν προνοίας καὶ ἄκουσαν εἰς τοῦτο κατεχούσης αὐτήν. 30

PILSK

3 ἡ² om. P || 4 τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς: τῆς ταύτης ζωῆς P || 6 προστάτιδος τύχοιμεν inv. P || 9 ἐν om. P || 15 τὸ γῆρας P || 16 ἐπ': ἐν P || ἂν om. P || ἀποβλέψατε PI || 17 φωτὸς τὴν inv. ILSK

8—9 τὰ βάρη . . . Χριστοῦ: cf. Gal. 6,2 || 12—13 ἵνα τί . . . συνταράσσετε: cf. Ps. 41(42),12; 42(43),5 || 15—16 τὸ πνεῦμα . . . αὐτῇ: cf. 1 Pet. 4,14 (Is. 11,2) || 17 φωτὸς θυγατέρα: cf. Io. 12,36 et sim. locc.

others her feet, sharing the parts of her body between themselves. For the abbess had every kind of virtue in abundance, meekness being her characteristic trait.¹ When they finally despaired of her life, they gently asked her, lamenting, 'What will become of us when you leave us? Where shall we find your equal to succeed you as abbess, someone who will love us with deeper care than a mother, being good and meek as you, and *bear the burdens* of each of us *and fulfil the law of Christ* amongst us as you have done?' As they had said this to her, wailing for a long time and striving, had it been possible, to prevent her departure, they heard her speak with a thin and very faint voice, perceived only by those who had the keenest ears, 'Why do you *disquiet* my soul with your crying? In fact, my children, you already possess your future good shepherd. Believe me, she is as superior to me as I am to you owing to my age, and *the spirit of God resteth upon* her. If you obey my advice not to look for anyone else—, it is your sister Irene I mean, the daughter of light, the lamb of Jesus, the treasury of gifts of the Comforter.'² After these words she finally said, 'Glory to Thy mercy, O Lord', and entrusted her spirit to the hands of holy angels.

When they had performed for her all the due rites of burial and interred her with other holy corpses, they turned their minds to the concern about their future abbess. Gathering together in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel, which the narrative has shown³ to be a chapel at the convent, all looked unanimously to the admirable Irene. To her they said nothing at all about the matter, suspecting that she might escape from the convent without their notice. They knew the modesty of her mind: she would not accept the leadership without Providence from on high urging her to it even against her will.

7. ¹ Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 73 (PG 36, 596B), Δαβὶδ . . . οὐ πολλαὶ μὲν . . . νῆκαι καὶ τρόπαια, ἢ πραότης δὲ τὸ ἐπισημότατον. Similarly, of Moses, Theodoret, *HRel*, XI 2,9—10 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 456).

² Cf. *VMarIun*, ed. Peeters 705A, τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν δωρεῶν τοῦ . . . πνεύματος. — The first part of this sentence is somewhat problematic. Since τὴν ἀδελφὴν . . . λέγω is not a natural apodosis of the conditional clause Καὶ ἦν . . . ἀποβλέψαι (for the structure of the latter, cf. 78,30 f., *infra*), there is apparently no apodosis at all. At first sight this difficulty would seem to be solved by reading ἀποβλέψατε with PI. However, since ἂν, absent in P but present in I, is impossible with ἀποβλέψατε, P is likely to have 'emended' (and I distorted) the difficult text still present in LSK. In fact, the suppression of the apodosis may be intended to add to the vividness of the passage by suggesting that the abbess is becoming exhausted (or is eager to mention Irene's name?).

³ *Supra*, 20,26—27.

Ἐν τῷ ναῷ δὲ προσευξάμεναι ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην εἶχοντο φερούσης, ὡς ἂν δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν θεόθεν λάβωσιν ὁδηγόν. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς οἵακας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ὁ πάντα ἄριστος διακυβερνῶν Μεθόδιος τῆς Κωνσταντίνου, ὁ ὁμολογητής, δς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰκονομάχων ὑπέμεινε, βασιλέων ὑπερμαχοῦντων τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ 5 προπολεμούντων κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, πολλοῖς δὲ στίγμασι καὶ κινδύνοις κεκοσμημένος τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τῶν ἀχράντων εἰκόνων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον τῆς αἱρέσεως καταλύτης καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας πρόμαχος ἱκανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάτων αὐτουργός καὶ πνεύματος ἀνάμεστος ἀγίου καὶ διορατικὸς τὰ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντα 10 καλῶς καταστοχαζόμενος.

20 Ὡς οὖν ἤπτοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ, προφασίζομένη προφάσεις οὐκ ἤθελεν ἡ Εἰρήνη ταύταις συνέπεσθαι· μόλις οὖν αὐτὴν πείσασαί συνοδοιπορεῖν τὸ πατριαρχεῖον κατέλαβον. Ὑπομνησθέντος τοίνυν, ὡς ἔθος, τοῦ μεγάλου Μεθοδίου εἰσίσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ πᾶσαι ἅμα πρὸς 15 αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν συνήθη βαλοῦσαι μετάνοιαν ἔκειντο τὴν εὐλογίαν ἀναμένουσαι. Εὐλογήσας δὲ καὶ ἀναστῆναι ταύταις ἐγκελευσάμενος ἡρώτα μαθεῖν τὴν προκριθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς προστασίαν αὐτῶν· αἱ δὲ 'Μηδεμίαν ἐξ ἡμῶν', ἔφασαν, 'τό γε νῦν ἔχον, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐξειλέχθαι παρ' ἡμῶν' τὸ πᾶν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι ἐν σοὶ 20 πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναθέμεναι, πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἡκομεν ἀγιότητα.' Ὁ δὲ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ 'Οἶδα,' φησί, 'τὴν σεμνοτάτην Εἰρήνην αἰρεῖσθε πᾶσαι, καλῶς γε φρονοῦσαι καὶ θεαρέστως, καὶ χάρις τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκρυψε τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.' Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ συνεχόμεναι οὐδὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι εἶχον, 25 μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ καταβαλοῦσαι ἑαυτάς· Ὡς οὖν ὁ θεὸς 610D 21 ἐν σοὶ ἐστίν', εἶπον, 'καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡδηγήθης, ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εὐθὺς

PILSK

6 πολεμούντων P || 10 διορατικῶς PILK || 11 στοχαζόμενος LS (κατὰ suprascr. K) || 13 ἐπεσθαι ILSK || πείσασθαι S || 14 τοίνυν: οὖν ILSK

20—21 τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι . . . θεοῦ: cf. Rom. 8,9

⁴ Cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 84,77—78, Μεθόδιον, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τὰ στίγματα περιφέροντα. For the maltreated patriarch in figural representations, cf. C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 52 f.

⁵ Cf. *VTheodorImp*, ed. Markopoulos 10,36—37 (Regel, 13,7—8), Μεθόδιος ὁ ἀοιδίμος ὁμολογητής καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας πρόμαχος; cf. also *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 904B.

After praying in the church, they took their way to the patriarch to obtain through him their worthy guide from God. At the helm of the see of Constantinople was Methodios, a man excellent in all respects, the confessor who had suffered hard from the Iconoclasts, when emperors were fighting for impiety and waged war against piety. He could pride himself upon many stigmata and dangers undergone for the reverence of the immaculate icons.⁴ Therefore he was not only a destroyer of the heresy and a competent champion of Orthodoxy,⁵ but also a miracle-worker, filled with Holy Spirit, and a visionary⁶ who accurately divined God's decisions.

As they took the road, Irene made excuses and would not follow them. Only with difficulty they persuaded her to go with them and they arrived at the patriarchate. When the great Methodios had been notified, as the custom is, all the sisters went in to him together. Having prostrated themselves in the usual way, they lay awaiting his blessing. He blessed them and exhorted them to rise, and then asked to be informed about whom they had chosen to lead them.⁷ 'Your Grace', they answered, 'as yet we have not designated anyone among us. We wish to refer the whole question to God and the Spirit of God which dwells in you, and therefore approach your Holiness.' 'I know', said the God-bearing man, 'that you all elect the venerable Irene. That is a good and God-pleasing choice. Thanks be to God that He has not hidden her virtues from me.' When they heard this they could not even answer from the astonishment and awe they felt. Throwing themselves at his feet they said merely, 'Surely God is in you. By Him you have been guided, you holy man of God!'

⁶ διορατικός denotes the ability of divining future events, but also the gift of intuitively reading men's minds and revealing their secrets; the latter is described in ch. 23, *infra*. Cf. J. Gouillard in: *École pratique des Hautes Études, V^e section, Annuaire*, t. 82 (1973—1974), 218.

⁷ Vote by the community was the usual way of electing abbots and abbesses; see R. Janin, 'Le monachisme byzantin au moyen-âge. Commende et typica (X^e—XIV^e siècle)', *REB*, 22 (1964), 5—44, esp. 25—28. Here the real choice is made by Irene's dying predecessor (*supra*, 24,13 ff.). This privilege was also used by St Athanasia of Aegina according to *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye 614,43—45, Εἶτα μετὰ βραχὺ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀνάλυσιν αὐτῆς προγνοῦσα . . . ἐπισυνάξασα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς, προχειρίσατο τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἄρχειν τῶν λοιπῶν, a wording which would rather suggest a normal practice (curiously, this piece of information seems to be lacking in the recently published Life of Athanasia; cf. *VAthanasAeg*, ed. Carras, esp. 220,15).

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20 Ὡς οὖν ἦπτοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ, προφασιζομένη προφάσεις οὐκ ἤθελεν ἡ Εἰρήνη ταύταις συνέπεσθαι· μόλις οὖν αὐτὴν πείσασαι συνοδοιπορεῖν τὸ πατριαρχεῖον κατέλαβον. Ὑπομνησθέντος τοίνυν, ὡς ἔθος, τοῦ μεγάλου Μεθοδίου εἰσίσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ πᾶσαι ἅμα πρὸς 15 αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν συνήθη βαλοῦσαι μετάνοιαν ἔκειντο τὴν εὐλογίαν ἀναμένουσai. Εὐλογήσας δὲ καὶ ἀναστῆναι ταύταις ἐγκελευσάμενος ἡρώτα μαθεῖν τὴν προκριθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς προστασίαν αὐτῶν· αἱ δὲ 'Μηδεμίαν ἐξ ἡμῶν', ἔφασαν, 'τό γε νῦν ἔχον, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐξειλέχθαι παρ' ἡμῶν' τὸ πᾶν δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι ἐν σοὶ 20 πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναθέμεναι, πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἡκομεν ἁγιότητα.' Ὁ δὲ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ 'Οἶδα,' φησί, 'τὴν σεμνοτάτην Εἰρήνην αἱρεῖσθε πᾶσαι, καλῶς γε φρονοῦσαι καὶ θεαρέστως, καὶ χάρις τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκρυψε τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.' Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ συνεχόμεναι οὐδὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι εἶχον, 25 μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ καταβαλοῦσαι ἑαυτάς· Ὡντως ὁ θεὸς 610D 21 ἐν σοὶ ἐστίν', εἶπον, 'καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡδηγήθης, ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εὐθὺς

PILSK

6 πολεμούντων P || 10 διορατικῶς PILK || 11 στοχαζόμενος LS (κατὰ suprascr. K) || 13 ἐπεσθαι ILSK || πείσασθαι S || 14 τοίνυν: οὖν ILSK

20—21 τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι . . . θεοῦ: cf. Rom. 8,9

⁴ Cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 84,77—78, Μεθόδιον, ἔτι τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τὰ στίγματα περιφέροντα. For the maltreated patriarch in figural representations, cf. C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 52 f.

⁵ Cf. *VTheodorImp*, ed. Markopoulos 10,36—37 (Regel, 13,7—8), Μεθόδιος ὁ αἰοίδιμος ὁμολογητής καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας πρόμαχος; cf. also *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 904B.

After praying in the church, they took their way to the patriarch to obtain through him their worthy guide from God. At the helm of the see of Constantinople was Methodios, a man excellent in all respects, the confessor who had suffered hard from the Iconoclasts, when emperors were fighting for impiety and waged war against piety. He could pride himself upon many stigmata and dangers undergone for the reverence of the immaculate icons.⁴ Therefore he was not only a destroyer of the heresy and a competent champion of Orthodoxy,⁵ but also a miracle-worker, filled with Holy Spirit, and a visionary⁶ who accurately divined God's decisions.

As they took the road, Irene made excuses and would not follow them. Only with difficulty they persuaded her to go with them and they arrived at the patriarchate. When the great Methodios had been notified, as the custom is, all the sisters went in to him together. Having prostrated themselves in the usual way, they lay awaiting his blessing. He blessed them and exhorted them to rise, and then asked to be informed about whom they had chosen to lead them.⁷ 'Your Grace', they answered, 'as yet we have not designated anyone among us. We wish to refer the whole question to God and the Spirit of God which dwells in you, and therefore approach your Holiness.' 'I know', said the God-bearing man, 'that you all elect the venerable Irene. That is a good and God-pleasing choice. Thanks be to God that He has not hidden her virtues from me.' When they heard this they could not even answer from the astonishment and awe they felt. Throwing themselves at his feet they said merely, 'Surely God is in you. By Him you have been guided, you holy man of God!'

⁶ διορατικός denotes the ability of divining future events, but also the gift of intuitively reading men's minds and revealing their secrets; the latter is described in ch. 23, *infra*. Cf. J. Gouillard in: *École pratique des Hautes Études, V^e section, Annuaire*, t. 82 (1973—1974), 218.

⁷ Vote by the community was the usual way of electing abbots and abbesses; see R. Janin, 'Le monachisme byzantin au moyen-âge. Commende et typica (X^e—XIV^e siècle)', *REB*, 22 (1964), 5—44, esp. 25—28. Here the real choice is made by Irene's dying predecessor (*supra*, 24,13 ff.). This privilege was also used by St Athanasia of Aegina according to *SynaxCP*, ed. Delhaye 614,43—45, Εἶτα μετὰ βραχὺ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀνάλυσιν αὐτῆς προγνοῦσα . . . , ἐπισυνάξασα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς, προεχειρίσατο τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἀρχεῖν τῶν λοιπῶν, a wording which would rather suggest a normal practice (curiously, this piece of information seems to be lacking in the recently published Life of Athanasia; cf. *VAthanasAeg*, ed. Carras, esp. 220,15).

οὐν μηδὲν μελλήσας ὁ πατριάρχης ἐξαναστὰς τοῦ θρόνου καὶ
 θυμιατήριον αἰτήσας, βαλὼν τε θυμίαμα καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογήσας,
 ὕμνωδίας τε προσφόρου πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος, διάκονον τῆς μεγάλης
 ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον χειροτονεῖ τὴν Εἰρήνην — ἦδει γὰρ τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ
 πνεύματι καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς καθαρότητα —, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῆς
 ἡγουμενείας ἐπιτίθησι σφραγίδα· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περὶ προστασίας
 εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτήν, πλείονα δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ τε πίστεως καὶ
 ὑπακοῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὑπομνήσας κολαστηρίων καὶ αὐθις τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τοῖς εὖ ἢ κακῶς τὸν βίον ἐνταῦθα διανύουσιν ἀναμένει,
 τὴν ὁμόνοιάν τε ταύταις καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἐπευξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν
 αὐτὰς ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

E 22 8. Ἡ μέντοι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς μονῆς ἄρτι τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου
 F κατὰ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν ἀναδεξαμένη Εἰρήνη εἰς νοὺν λαμβάνουσα τὰ
 προρρηθέντα πάλοι αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωαννικίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ
 τὴν ἀπόρρητον τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομηθέντα σοφίαν κατανοοῦσα,
 παρ' ὅλην τὴν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔλγε τῶν δακρύων, τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἐκπληττομένη καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως πολλῷ πλέον νῦν
 καταβαίνουσα βάθος καὶ ἀναξίαν ἑαυτὴν καὶ τῆς γῆς
 ὑπολαμβάνουσα, τῆς θείας χάριτος, ὥς εἰκός, δι' ἐπιθέσεως τῶν
 χειρῶν τοῦ θεοφόρου Μεθοδίου ἐπικαταπτάσης αὐτῆς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν συνδιατιθείσης αὐτὴν μετριοφροσύνην. Ὅπερ
 θαυμάζουσαι αἱ ἀδελφαί, 'Μὴ οὕτω λυπεῖσθαι' παρεκάλουν αὐτήν,
 'καὶ ἀδημονεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας', λέγουσαι, 'προστασίας' πᾶσαι
 γὰρ ἡμεῖς πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπακοήν, ἰδοὺ, σοὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχομεν —
 ἀγνοοῦσαι πάντως ἅπερ ἐκείνη κατὰ νοὺν ἐλογίζετο —, 'καὶ οὐδὲν

PILSK

1 μελήσας codd. || ἀναστὰς P || 5 καὶ¹ om. P || 8 ἐκεῖθεν: μελλόντων
 P || 9 διανύουσιν I || 14 τὰ om. P || 17 νῦν: ἦν I om. P (sed cf. supra
 22,25—26)

10—11 ἀπέλυσεν . . . εἰρήνη: cf. Lc. 2,29 || 16 τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Act. 2,11

⁸ On this office, see C. Vagaggini, 'L'ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina', *OCP*, 40 (1974), 145—189, and, more generally, A. G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses. Essai historique* (Rome, 1982), esp. 31 ff. It is still attested for the 10th c. whereas in sources of the 12th c. it is treated as an obsolete phenomenon (Martimort, op. cit., 171 f.). In earlier periods there is a close link between the office of deaconess and that of hegumena, particularly in Constantinople (ibid., 133—137). The minimum age was 40 years (ibid., 150)—the deaconesses were often widows—, so the ordination

Without delay the patriarch rose from his throne at once and asked for a censer. Burning incense and praising God he initiated a hymn befitting the occasion. Then he first ordained Irene deaconess⁸ of the Great Church—for through the Spirit in him he knew her purity—, and thereafter consecrated her with the seal of hegumenate. He spoke many words to her about leadership, but still more to the other nuns about faith and obedience, reminding them of the punishments and again of the good things that beyond await those who lead a virtuous or a vicious life here. After a prayer for concord and love among them he let them *depart in peace*.

8. Irene Admonishing Herself and the Nuns

Having assumed the leadership of the Convent of Chrysobalanton in accordance with divine Providence, Irene called to mind the prediction long ago spoken to her by the great Ioannikios.¹ Realizing what had been dispensed by God's ineffable wisdom, she could not hold her tears back throughout the journey, stupefied at *the wonderful works of God* and now descending still more into the depth of humility, deeming herself unworthy even of the earth. For when the God-bearing Methodios imposed his hands on her, divine grace, one may presume, flowed down upon her soul and helped to prepare her for the utmost modesty. Wondering at this the sisters begged her not to be so worried and distressed about being their abbess. 'Look', they said, wholly ignorant of the sorrows she bore in her mind, 'we are all ready for every kind of obedience towards you, and you

of Irene could be meant as a counterpart to the premature rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy usual with male saints; cf. Festugière on *VTheodSyc*, 21,24 (vol. 2, 183). But sometimes, as in the case of Blasios of Amorion, the diaconate was a first step towards becoming presbyter (*VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 660A, C, 664B). The inner chronology of *VI* is loose, and it is impossible to be precise about Irene's age on this occasion. Probably however she is meant still to be a young woman. As participant in the bride-show she could hardly have been more, and was probably less, than 18 years old (cf. E. Patlagean, 'L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IV^e—XII^e siècles)', *Annales de démographie historique*, 28 [1973], 85—93, esp. 86). Apparently she enters religion very soon after (*supra*, 12,18), begins her standing exercises after another year (*supra*, 18,4—5), and is tempted by the Devil after three more years (*supra*, 18,19). There is nothing to indicate the distance in time to the death of the abbess (*supra*, 24,19—20), but a lapse of more than just another few years seems unlikely. With this calculation Irene would have become deaconess in her early or mid 20s.

8. ¹ Cf. *supra*, 10,12—14.

ἔσται πρόσκομμα παρ' ἡμῶν, ῥάδια πάντα τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπακοῆς
θεοῦ διομαλιζούσης σοι ῥοπή.'

- 23 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον κατέλαβον τάς τε συνήθεις
εὐχαριστίας ἀπέδωκαν τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ καὶ σιτίων κοινῇ μετέλαβον
τραπέζῃ, τὸ ταῖς προεστώσαις ἀφωρισμένον παραλαβοῦσα κελλίον, 5
κλείσασα τὴν θύραν προσήχετο τῷ βλέποντι ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ,
συναντιλήψεσθαι αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν
προστασίας· καὶ δάκρυσι τὸ ἔδαφος καταρραίνουσα πολλὴν ἡτεῖτο
611A καὶ μεγάλην ἐξ ὕψους αὐτῇ καταπεμφθῆναι τὴν συνεργίαν, 'Σὺ γὰρ
εἰ', λέγουσα, 'ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, σὺ εἶπας τοῖς μαθηταῖς "Εἰς ὑμῶν 10
ἔστι καθηγητής, ὁ Χριστός"'· σὺ εἰ ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων ὁ εἰσάγων
αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν αἰώνιον· σὺ εἰ καὶ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ
διδάσκαλος· καὶ εἰ σὺ εἰ ὁ ὁδηγὸς ἡμῶν, ἀντιλαβοῦ τῆς δούλης σου
καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου ποιμνίου σου καὶ διατήρησον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς
ἄρπαγῆς τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ δολίου λύκου. Οἶδας γὰρ τὴν ἀσθένειαν 15
ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς ἀνύειν ὅλως δυνάμεθα μὴ τῆς παρὰ σοῦ
βοηθείας ἡμῖν χορηγουμένης.'
- 24 Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ προσευξαμένη καὶ μετρίαν ἄνεσιν λαβοῦσα ἤρξατο
πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοιαῦτα διαλέγεσθαι· "Ἀρά γε, ταπεινὴ Εἰρήνη,
ἐπιγινώσκεις τὸ φορτίον ὅπερ σου Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐπέθετο; 20
Ψυχὰς ἐνεπιστεύθης, ὑπὲρ ὧν θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ αἷμα
ἐξέχεε· καὶ, ὡς ἤκουσας, οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἀντάξιός.
Οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ ἄργου λόγου λόγον ἕκαστος
δώσει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀπολλυμένης οἷα πείσεται ὁ τὴν
B φροντίδα ταύτης ἀναδεδεγμένος, εἰ μὴ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσει πρὸς 25
τὴν αὐτῆς σωτηρίαν. Ἐπαγρυπνεῖν σε δεῖ πάντως περισσοτέρως ἐν
εὐχαΐς, καρτερεῖν ἐν νηστεαῖς, τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου
βαστάζειν καὶ πάντα φέρειν γενναίως καὶ πράως. Πρόσεχε δὲ σεαυτῇ,
μήποτε τὸ σὸν ἐλάττωμα τό σε λανθάνον ἀφορμὴ τι τῶν ἀδελφῶν

PILSK

7 τὸν θεὸν om. P, qui ἱκετεύουσα post ἀδελφῶν tr. || 20 τὸν ὄμω PLSK ||
25 ἀναδεδεγμένος I: ἀναδεδεγμένος LSK ἀναδεξάμενος P || 26 περισσοτέρως
om. P || 27 εὐχαΐς: ταῖς εὐ. P || 28 ἑαυτῇ LSK || 29 ἀδελφῶν: add. σου I

6 τῷ βλέποντι . . . κρυπτῷ: cf. Mt. 6,4 || 10—11 Εἰς . . . Χριστός: cf. Mt. 23,10
|| 11 ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων: Io. 10,7 || 12—13 ὁ κύριος . . . διδάσκαλος: cf.
Io. 13,13 || 14—15 τῆς ἄρπαγῆς . . . λύκου: cf. Mt. 7,15; Io. 10,12 || 20 τὸ
φορτίον . . . ἐπέθετο: cf. Mt. 23,4 || 22 ὁ κόσμος . . . ἀντάξιός: cf. Mt. 16,26 ||
23—24 ὑπὲρ . . . κρίσεως: cf. Mt. 12,36 || 24—26 ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς . . . σε δεῖ: cf. Heb.
13,17 || 27—28 τὰ ἀσθενήματα . . . βαστάζειν: cf. Rom. 15,1

will meet with no obstruction from us. No, with God's will our obedience
will make all your ways easy.'

When they had reached the convent, spoken the usual thanks to God
the Protector and partaken of a meal at a common table, she took up
residence in the cell designated for the abbesses. Closing the door she
prayed to *Him which seeth in secret*, beseeching God to assist her in
leading the sisters, and wetting the floor with tears she begged that power-
ful help be sent down to her abundantly from on high, saying, 'Thou art
the good shepherd. Thou saidst to the disciples, *One is your Master, even
Christ*. Thou art *the door of the sheep* which leads them to eternal salva-
tion. Thou art both the Lord and the Master. And if Thou art our guide,
help Thy servant and this little flock of Thine, and protect us from the
grasp of the perfidious spiritual wolf. Thou knowest our infirmity: we
cannot perform anything whatever unless Thy help is bestowed upon us.'

After a protracted prayer and a modest rest she spoke² the following
words to herself: 'Do you realize, humble Irene, what a burden Christ
has laid on your shoulders? You have been entrusted with souls, and for
the sake of souls God even became man and shed His blood. As you have
heard, not even the whole world outweighs one single soul. Now, *in the
day of judgment* everyone shall give account for an *idle word*. If this is
so, can you be ignorant of the price for a soul that is lost, to be paid by
him who has undertaken to care for her but fails to do all in his power
to save her? You must by all means be utterly wakeful in your prayers
and persevere in your fasting and *bear the infirmities* of the sisters, endur-
ing all bravely and gently. Take heed to yourself lest one of your faults,
although escaping yourself, become a cause of destruction for anyone of

² Cf. Greek Index, s.v. ἀρχομαι.

ἀπωλείας γένηται καὶ πληρωθῇ ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ λέγον ῥῆμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτι “Τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ἐὰν ὁδηγῇ, ἀμφότεροι πεσοῦνται εἰς βόθυνον”.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοιαῦτα, οἷς δὴ καὶ θήξασα τὴν ψυχὴν
ἐπὶ πολλῶ πλείονα διήγειρε τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἀγγελικὴν διόλου βίωσιν
ἐλομένη καὶ πολιτείαν, νηστείας μὲν ἀνύουσα πολυήμερους, στάσεις
παννύχους, γονάτων ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν τελούσα κλίσεις, χαμευνία ξηρὰ
25 καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἀνέσεως ὅσον κακοπαθείας ἀφορμὴ κεχρημένη, καὶ
διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τὴν εὐνοίαν σπεύδουσα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ
τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ χορηγουμένην σύνεσιν διδάσκουσιν ἔχειν καὶ πρὸς
πᾶσαν μυστικῶς ὁδηγοῦσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

Οἷα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἃ ἐδίδασκεν ἡ σοφωτάτη, ‘Οἶδα μὲν,’
C φησὶν, ‘ὧ τίμια θεῶ ἀναθήματα, μηδαμῶς εὐλογον τὴν ἐμὴν οὐθένειαν
εἰς διδασκάλου τάξιν ὑμῶν προκαθῆσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς, ἃς ἐγὼ
πέπεισμαι διδασκὰς εἶναι θεοῦ. Ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίματα
πάντως ἀνεξερεύνητα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ πολύτροπος αὐτοῦ σοφία εἰς
15 τοῦτό μου τὴν ταπεινῶσιν ἤγαγεν, ἀξιῶ μὴ προσέχειν ὡς διδασκάλῳ
ἀλλ’ ὡς συμβούλῳ καὶ ἀδελφῇ διὰ τὴν ἐπικειμένην μοι ἀνάγκην· οὐαὶ
γὰρ μοὶ ἔστιν, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῶν
συμβουλευσάμην. Καὶ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ῥημάτων τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινώσεως
δι’ ἀγάπην ὑμῖν προσφερομένων· καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν τὸν βίον τοῦτον τὸν
20 ἀσκητικόν, ὃν ὑπήλθομεν ἐκουσίως, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶ κειμένους
μετέλθωμεν νόμους, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ὄφελος οὐδ’ αὐτῆς τῆς πίστεως.
Χωρὶς γὰρ ἔργων ἡ πίστις νεκρά.

Ἦκούσαμεν γὰρ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, ζῶν ἄϊδιον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον,
26 τρυφὴν ἀκηράτων αἰώνων ἀγαθῶν· ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ εὐαγγε-
λισμένῳ καὶ ὑποσχομένῳ Ἰησοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, εἰς ὃν καὶ
πεπιστεύκαμεν. Καὶ πιστεύσασαι τοῖς ἐπηγγελμένοις τοσοῦτοις
ἀγαθοῖς ἀφήκαμεν τὰ τοῦ κόσμου τερπνὰ ὡς πρόσκαιρα καὶ μικράν
τινα καὶ ταύτην ἡχρειωμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐχ
ἰστάμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῶν οὐρανίων οὐ
30 μικρὸν ἡμῖν εὐρισκόμενα κώλυμα. Εἴπερ οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα τούτων

PILSK

2 βόθυνον: βόθρον P || 3 θήξασα L || 18 μοὶ ἔστιν: ἔστιν ἐμοὶ P

2 Mt. 15,14 || 9—10 πρὸς . . . ἀλήθειαν: cf. Io. 16,13 || 14 διδασκὰς . . . θεοῦ:
cf. Is. 54,13; Io. 6,45 || 14—15 κρίματα . . . ἀνεξερεύνητα: cf. Rom. 11,33 ||
17—19 διὰ τὴν . . . συμβουλευσάμην: cf. 1 Cor. 9,16 || 23 Χωρὶς . . . νεκρά: cf.
Iac. 2,26 || 28—29 πρόσκαιρα . . . ἀπόλαυσιν: cf. Heb. 11,25

the sisters, and the word of Christ be fulfilled upon you that says, “if
the blind lead the blind both shall fall into the ditch”.

Such were the words she spoke to herself, thereby arousing her soul
and provoking it to a still harder training. The mode of life and conduct
she had chosen was wholly angelic: she performed fasts of many days’
duration and standing exercises lasting whole nights; she accomplished
numberless genuflections; she slept on the floor, using the bed less as a
source of rest than of discomfort. By these means she strove to attract
God’s benevolence and obtain the sagacity dispensed by Him to teach her
and *guide her mystically into all truth*.

Similarly the wise woman taught the sisters, saying,³ ‘I know, dear
devotees to God, that it is by no means reasonable that my worthless per-
son should be your leader in a teacher’s position and teach you, for I am
convinced that you are *taught by God*. But since God’s *judgments* surely
are *unsearchable* and His versatile wisdom, therefore, has led me here,
humble though I am, I request that you attend to me not as a teacher but
as a counsellor and sister for the sake of the *necessity* that is *laid upon*
me. “*Yea, woe is unto me*”, as the divine Apostle says, if I do not give
you profitable advice. Endure the words I speak in my humility: they are
brought to you in love. For unless we lead this ascetic life, to which we
have submitted ourselves voluntarily, in accordance with the laws laid
down for it, we shall have no profit even from faith itself. Yes, *faith with-*
out works is dead.

We have heard of a kingdom of heaven, an eternal and endless life,
and an enjoyment of undefiled and everlasting good things. We have
come to belief in Jesus our God and Lord who brought these good news
and gave these promises: in Him we do believe. Having come to belief
in the great good things that were promised, we have left the pleasures
of this world as being transient, yielding only petty enjoyment and worth-
less at that, not only being unstable but even presenting a considerable
obstacle for us in reaching the heavenly world. Thus, if we fall short of

³ The structure of this sentence may be illustrated by *VAntCaul*, ed. Papadopoulos-
Kerameus 20,3—5, Οἷον δὲ θαῦμα ὅπερ καὶ εἰς Λέοντα τετέλεσται . . . , λελέχθω
παρ’ ἡμῶν. Our passage lacks a finite verb corresponding to λελέχθω. For similar ellipses,
cf. *VMarlun*, ed. Peeters 698C, Οἷα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐκείνου, ὃς καὶ κτλ.; *VLuclun*,
Suppl., ed. Martini 85,29, Οἷον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκείνου χρηστότητος σύμβολον
ἀκριβὲς ἐξῆει κτλ.

ἐκπεσούμεθα, ἐλεεινότεραι τάχα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν·
ἀποτευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ μάτην ἡμῖν ὅλος οὗτος ὁ κόπος ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτευσώμεθα. Εἶπε γὰρ ὁ κύριος·
612D “Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει καὶ
τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου 5
καταφρονήσει.” Μία γὰρ οὐσα ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς δύο μερισθῆναι οὐ δύναται·
οὐ δύναται ἡ αὐτὴ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ τρυφᾶν καὶ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, καὶ
πτωχείαν χρημάτων ἔχειν καὶ πλουτεῖν ἐν χρήμασι, καὶ ταπεινῶσιν
τοῦ κυρίου μετιέναι καὶ τὴν κενὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων θερίζειν δόξαν.
27 Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολούθησαμεν αὐτῷ. Ἐὰν μὴ 10
καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἀκολουθῇ, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν
ὄφελος ἢ σωματικὴ μόνον ἀκολουθήσις· ἀλλὰ δέον ἡμᾶς πᾶσαν ἀπὸ
τῆς ψυχῆς διῶξαι βιωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ προσπάθειαν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἔξω
φαινόμενα τὸν κόσμον φυγοῦσαι τὰ ἐνδον μέσον ὦμεν τοῦ κόσμου,
ἐφιέμενα τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἱματίοις ἀνθοβαφεῖσι καὶ 15
πολυτίμοις κοσμεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν, στρωμαῖς ὑψηλαῖς τε καὶ
μαλακαῖς καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἀνακλίνεσθαι, πολυφαγίαις καὶ
οἰνοποσίαις ἀμέτροις βαρύνεσθαι, καὶ ἀδικεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν — ἀδικία
E γάρ ἐστι πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν —, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ κόσμον
πράγμασιν ἐντρυφᾶν, οἷς καθάπαξ ἀπεταξάμεθα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ 20
καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τροφὰς ἡμᾶς ἐχούσας καὶ
σκεπάσματα, τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, καθὼς γέγραπται.
Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀγώνισμα τὸ μέγα ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἴη, τὸ τὰς
ἀρετὰς ἐκείνας κτήσασθαι, αἱ σφῶουσιν ἡμᾶς·
τὴν ἀγνείαν τε καὶ τὸν ἀγιασμόν, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄνεται 25
τὸν κύριον ἀλλ’ ἀκούσει· “Ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής, ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν δόξαν
κυρίου”,
τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην, ὅτι “Πᾶς ὁ ὑψὼν ἑαυτὸν
ταπεινωθήσεται”, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, “ὁ δὲ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν
ὕψωθήσεται”, 30

PILSK

2 ἀποτευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ: εἰ P || 3 πολιτευσώμεθα I || 18 ἀμετρήτοις I ||
20 οἷς om. P || 23 τὸ μέγα om. P || 25 τε om. ILSK || 29—30 εἶπεν . . .
ὕψωθήσεται om. PL

1 ἐλεεινότεραι . . . ἐσμέν: cf. 1 Cor. 15,19 || 3—5 Mt. 6,24; Lc. 16,13 || 10
ἡμεῖς . . . αὐτῷ: cf. Mt. 19,27 et sim. locc. || 21—22 τροφὰς . . . ἀρκεῖσθαι: cf.
1 Tim. 6,8 || 25—26 τὸν ἀγιασμόν . . . κύριον: Heb. 12,14 || 26—27 Is. 26,11
(Odae 5,10) || 28—30 Lc. 14,11

this hereafter, *we are of all people most miserable*. And we will fail herein
and all this toil will be in vain for us unless we live according to the laws
of Christ. The Lord said, “*No man can serve two masters, for either he
will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and
despise the other.*” Being one, the soul cannot be divided into two, nor
can the same soul simultaneously enjoy herself and restrain herself, both
live in poverty and be rich, both seek the Lord’s humility and win the futile
glory of men.

We, then, have forsaken all and followed Him. To follow Him will be
of no avail to us if we do so merely corporeally, but only if our soul and
our whole inner being follow Him too. Yes, we must dispel all desire and
attachment to this life from our souls, lest we, outwardly appearing to
have fled this world, be inwardly in the very middle of the world, longing
to be honoured by men, to adorn ourselves with bright-coloured and
precious clothes and delight therein, to lie down on high, soft, and
precious beds,⁴ to fill ourselves by measureless gluttony and wine-
drinking, doing harm to the soul (for doing harm is anything that exceeds
the need);⁵ and to indulge in those other worldly things to which we have
once for all bid farewell before God and the holy angels.⁶ No, *having
food and raiment*, we should, as is written, *be therewith content*.

Let it be our work and our hard struggle to acquire such virtues as will
save us, namely,

purity and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord
but shall hear, “*Away with the ungodly one lest he behold the majesty
of the Lord!*”

Humility, for whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, as
the Lord said, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, 32,6—7 and, *inter alia*, VIoann a. Saba, ed. Van den Gheyn 337B, οὐκ ἐν
ὕψηλῃ στρωμνῇ καὶ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ ἡπαλυμένη ἀνέπιπτεν ἀλλ’ . . . ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐδάφους
ἀνέκλινεν.

⁵ Cf. *VPhilar*, ed. Vasiliev 79,31—32 (edd. Fourmy & Leroy 149,28—29), πᾶν γὰρ τὸ
περισσὸν τῆς χρεῖας πλεονεξία ὀνομάζεται, a more natural definition than that presented
here.

⁶ Cf. the office τοῦ μικροῦ σχήματος (*Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 383): Βλέπε, τέκνον,
οἷας συνθήκας δίδως τῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ· ἄγγελοι γὰρ πάρεσιν ἀοράτως
ἀπογραφόμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν σου ταύτην.

28 τὴν διηνεκῇ κατάνυξιν, ὅτι “Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν”· τῶν γὰρ ἐπεγνωκότων τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσθενείαν ἐστὶν, οὐ τῶν πλουτούντων ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ οἰήσει τῆς τοῦ νοῦς αὐτῶν ματαιότητος·

καὶ τὴν ἀοργησίαν, ὅτι “Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκῇ, ἔνοχος ἐστὶ τῇ κρίσει”· εἰκῇ δέ ἐστι πᾶν τὸ μὴ διὰ θεὸν γινόμενον. “Εἰ μὴ γὰρ περισσεύσει”, φησὶν, “ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ δυνησόμεθα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.” Τὰ δὲ περιττεύοντα τῆς ἐκεῖνων δικαιοσύνης ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοιαῦτα ἀπαιτοῦντο· ὑπὲρ φύσιν γὰρ ἡ ἀγνεία, ὑπὲρ φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἀόργητον. Ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ φύσιν παρεγένετο, θεὸς ὢν καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ταῦτα F τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο· δωρεῖται δὲ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι μόνοις, καὶ τούτοις μὴ ἐν δισταγμῷ καρδίας· “Ἀνὴρ γὰρ δίψυχος ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ.”

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ τῶν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ τούτων κτῆσις, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὠρίσθημεν μισῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἵν’ ἐν πρώτοις τέως μὴ ἔχωμεν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κόσμου ἔχθρα εἰς Χριστόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μάλλον ἀγάπῃσιν καὶ 29 φιλανθρωπίαν ἀπολάβωμεν· δεύτερον δέ, νηστεύωμεν, ἀγρυπνῶμεν, προσευχώμεθα, τοῖς πένησι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σκορπίζωμεν, δάκρυσι τὸν κύριον δυσωπῶμεν, ὅπως ἐπιβλέψῃ ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν καὶ ταύτας ἡμῖν χαρίσεται τὰς ἀρετάς. Καὶ γὰρ ἀγνισθεῖσα ψυχὴ θεὸν καθορᾷ καθορωμένη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατοικητήριον τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος γίνεται· “Μακάριοι γάρ”, φησὶν, “οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, 25 ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶνται”. Μὴ ἀγνοῦσα δὲ ὅθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀγνείαν, οὐ καυχᾶται ὥς μὴ λαβοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονεῖ ὥς λαβοῦσα, καὶ ἐστὶν αἰὶ κατανενυγμένη καὶ πλήρης πίστεως καὶ ἐλεημοσυνῶν·

PILSK

7 φησὶν om. P || 11 γὰρ: add. καὶ ILSK || 17 τῷ om. ILSK || 20 φιλανθρωπίαν: φιλίαν PI || 22 ἐπιβλέψει S || 27 ἀλλὰ . . . λαβοῦσα om. P

1—2 Mt. 5,3 || 4 τῆς τοῦ νοῦς . . . ματαιότητος: cf. Eph. 4,17 || 5—6 Mt. 5,22 || 7—9 Mt. 5,20 || 14—15 Iac. 1,8 || 17 τὸν κόσμον . . . κόσμῳ: cf. 1 Io. 2,15 || 18—19 ἡ ἀγάπη . . . ἐστὶν: cf. Iac. 4,4 || 20—21 ἀγρυπνῶμεν, προσευχώμεθα: cf. Mc. 13,33 || 21 τοῖς πένησι . . . σκορπίζωμεν: cf. Ps. 111(112),9 || 22 ἐπιβλέψῃ . . . ταπείνωσιν: cf. Lc. 1,48 (1 Regn. 1,11) || 25—26 Mt. 5,8 || 27 οὐ . . . λαβοῦσα: cf. 1 Cor. 4,7 || 28 πλήρης . . . ἐλεημοσυνῶν: cf. Act. 9,36

Continuous contrition, because *blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*. Yes, it belongs to those who have realized their own weakness, not to those rich in the presumption and imagination of *the vanity of their mind*. Further,

freedom from passion, for *whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment*. “Without a cause” is anything that does not take place through God. *For except our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees* (says Holy Writ), we shall not be able to *enter into the kingdom of heaven*. What “exceeds their righteousness” is these virtues, for from those men such things were not demanded: purity is above nature, above nature is also freedom from passion. But when He came who is above nature, being both God and man, He gave these things above nature to those who believe in Him. They are given, however, only to those who pray for them, and even to them not when in doubt of the heart; for *a double minded man is unstable in all his ways*.

The acquisition of these things does not depend on ourselves. For this reason we have been commanded to hate *the world* and *the things that are in the world*, so that, firstly, we may not henceforth be at enmity with God (for the love of *the world is enmity with Christ*), but rather obtain His love and benevolence; and that, secondly, we may fast, *watch, pray*, distribute our goods among the poor and beseech the Lord with tears to *regard our low estate* and grant us these virtues. Yes, a purified soul will see God as she is seen by Him, and become an abode of divine goodness. As Holy Writ says, “*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*.” Not ignorant of whence she has her purity, that soul does not *glory as if she had not received it*, but is humble because she has received it, and is always contrite and full of faith and mercy. Shown mercy by God she

ἐλεηθεῖσα γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πάντας ἐλεεῖ καὶ πᾶσι φιланθρώπως
συμπαθεῖ. Καὶ οὕτω ἀθήται ἐν ἀοργησίᾳ κληρονόμος καὶ τῶν

613A τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης ψυχῆς ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φύλακές εἰσι καὶ
διάκονοι, αἰδούμενοι καὶ τιμώντες αὐτὴν καὶ περιέποντες· διὸ 5
παρακαλῶ πάσας ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἰχνῶν ὑμῶν ἐφάπτομαι, μὴ
ἀποκάμωμεν αἰτοῦσαι τὸν κύριον, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῶν δωρεῶν
αὐτοῦ τούτων τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ τελείων καὶ πῆξῃ ταύτας ἐν ταῖς
ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, ὥς ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδαμεν ἀναφαιρέτους, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τῶν
δικαιοσυνῶν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, ἕνεκεν τοῦ 10
ἐλέους αὐτοῦ.'

30 Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ πάνσοφος Εἰρήνη σπλάγχχνους μητρικοῖς
οὐ διέλιπε τὰ πνευματικὰ ἑαυτῆς διδάσκουσα τέκνα· καὶ μέντοι καὶ
τὸν σπῶρον εἰς ἀγαθὴν βάλλουσα γῆν καὶ βλαστάνοντα καὶ 15
αὐξάνοντα καὶ καρποφοροῦντα βλέπουσα ἔχαιρε καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰς
εὐχαριστίας ἀπεδίδου.

9. Ἦλθεν οὖν ἐπὶ λογισμὸν αὐτῇ ποτε παράδοξόν τι καὶ φοβερὸν
καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν αὐτῆς πίστεως τεκμήριον ἐναργές. Ἔλεγε γὰρ ἐν
ἑαυτῇ· 'Εἰ μοι διορατικῶς εἰδέναι κύριος ἔδωκε τὰ κρυφῇ παρὰ τῶν
ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν γινόμενα, τὰς μὲν ἐπηνώρθουν ἂν σφαλλομένας, τὰς 20
δὲ προκοπτούσας τρέχειν ἂν συνώθουν τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀρετῆς
B εὐτονώτερον.' Καὶ ταῦτα λογισαμένη πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν ὅλην ἑαυτὴν
ἀδιστάκτως ἔδωκε, δάκρυσι πολλοῖς καὶ κλίσεις γονάτων πολλὴν
τῷ θεῷ περὶ τούτου τὴν ἰκεσίαν προσάγουσα. Οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει τὸ τοῦ
χαρίσματος μέγεθος, τάξιν ἐπέχον δευτέραν τῶν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς 25
ἐκκλησίας μέτρῳ πίστεως ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος διανενημεμένων, καθά
φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· 'Καὶ οὕς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον
ἀποστόλους, δευτέρον προφήτας.' Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ ταχέως ὑπήκουσεν
31 αὐτῆς ὁ λέγων· "Ετι λαλοῦντός σου ἔρῳ, ἰδοὺ πάρεμι.' Ἐφάνη γὰρ

PILSK

2 ἀοργησίᾳ: add. καὶ P || 9 ἀναφαιρέτως I || 9—10 ἡμῶν τῶν δικαιοσυνῶν
inv. ILSK || 13 διέλιπε I || ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς P || 15 ἔχαιρε: χαῖρε L || 20
γενόμενα I || ἂν om. ILSK

3 ὥς . . . κατέχουσα: cf. 2 Cor. 6,10 || 9—11 οὐχ . . . ἐλέους αὐτοῦ: cf. Dan. 9,18
|| 14—15 τὸν σπῶρον . . . καρποφοροῦντα: cf. Mt. 13,8; Mc. 4,26—28 || 19—20
τὰ . . . γινόμενα (etiam infra 40,7—8): cf. Eph. 5,12 || 25—26 εἰς . . . ἐκκλησίας:
cf. 1 Cor. 14,12 || 26 μέτρῳ πίστεως: cf. Rom. 12,3 || 27—28 1 Cor. 12,28 ||
29 Is. 58,9

shows mercy to all and is lovingly compassionate to all. Thus she rests
free from passion, an heir of both the earthly and the celestial, *as having
nothing, and yet possessing all things*. Such a soul has angels of God as
guardians and servants, who show her respect and honour her and care
for her. Therefore I exhort you all and beseech you, embracing your feet,
let us not tire in our prayers to the Lord until He grants us these heavenly
and perfect gifts of His and implants them in our souls, inalienable in a
way we do not know, *not for our righteousnesses but for His name*, for
His mercy.'

These and similar things the all-wise Irene unceasingly taught her
spiritual children with motherly love. *Casting her seed into good ground*
and seeing it sprout and grow and yield fruit, she rejoiced and gave thanks
to God.

9. The Gift of Second Sight

Once a strange and awe-inspiring thought came to her mind, clearly testi-
fying to her faith in God. She said to herself, 'If the Lord would grant
me the gift of knowing by second sight *those things which are done in
secret* by my sisters, I should try to set aright those who fall and stimulate
those who are successful to run the race of virtue even more
vigorously.'¹ With these thoughts she immediately devoted her whole
self to prayer, delivering with many tears and genuflections an intense sup-
plication to God about her idea. She was not ignorant how great a gift
this was, being second in order among the things distributed by the Spirit
to the edifying of the church after the measure of faith, according to the
word of the Apostle: '*And God hath set some in the church, first apostles,
secondarily prophets.*' Swiftly, then, He hearkened to her who says,
'*Thou shalt cry, and I will say, Here I am.*' For there appeared from

9. ¹ Very similar is *VBIun*, cod. Mosqu. 249, fol. 30—30^v (ed. Vilinskij 301,32—36),
προφητικῶ δὲ χαρίσματι σεμνυνόμενος, ὅς μὲν ἑώρα τοῖς νοεροῖς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς
ἐναρέτως βιούσας ἐπῆναι . . . , ὅς δὲ πάλιν ἑώρα ἀτάκτους καὶ ἐπὶ τισιν ἀτοπήμασι
κεκρατημένας, ἀπεδριμύττετο καὶ ὠνειδίξε κτλ.

οὐρανόθεν ἄγγελος θεοῦ, στολὴν ἐνδεδυμένος λευκὴν καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐξαστράπτων, καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῇ παραστὰς χαρὰς ἐπλήρου ταύτην ὁπόσης ἂν εἴποις· καὶ οὐ μόνον τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ σχήματος οὐ κατέπληξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηνῶς αὐτῇ διελέγετο καὶ φησί·
 ‘Χαίροις τοῦ θεοῦ πιστοτάτη θεράπεινα· ἰδοὺ σοι κατὰ τὴν αἴτησιν
 ἀπέστειλέ με κύριος εἰς διακονίαν διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν
 σωτηρίαν διὰ σοῦ. Ἔσομαι δὲ μετὰ σου διὰ παντός, τὰ κρυφῇ
 γινόμενα καθ’ ἡμέραν σαφῶς ὑποδεικνύων σοι.’ Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 C ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀπέστη τῶν ὄψεων αὐτῆς· αὐτὴ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν
 ὑφαπλώσασα καὶ κολληθῆναι τούτῳ βιαζομένη τὴν εὐχαριστίαν
 οὕτως ἀνέπεμπε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης οὐ διέλιπεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ
 θεοῦ ὁπτανόμενος αὐτῇ καὶ δῆλα καθιστῶν οὐ τὰ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πᾶσι πραττόμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα.

32 Μετὰ γοῦν τὰς ὀρθρινὰς δοξολογίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάννυχος ἦν ἡ
 στάσις αὐτῇ, κατὰ μόνας μικρὰν τινα τῷ σώματι τὴν ἄνερσιν διδοῦσα
 καὶ ὕπνου μεταλαμβάνουσα — οὕτω γὰρ εἴθιστο —, εἰς τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ
 εἰσῆλθε διακονικόν, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὀνομαστὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐκάστην
 614D καλοῦσα καὶ ταύτην παρακαθιζομένη ὁμαλῶς πῶς ὑπηνίττετο τὰ
 ἄδηλα καὶ κρύφια· καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων αὐτῆς καὶ
 διανοημάτων εὐφυῶς καθήπτετο, νύττουσα τὸ συνειδὸς καὶ εἰς
 ὁμολογίαν τῶν σφαλμάτων καὶ μετάνοιαν ἐρεθίζουσα καὶ παντελοῦς
 λαμβάνουσα τῶν τοιούτων διορθώσεως ὑπόσχεσιν· ὅπερ ἐξίστασθαι
 ἑαυτῶν ἐποίει τὰς ἀδελφάς, καὶ οὐκέτι ταύτῃ προσεῖχον ὥς
 πρότερον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὴν Εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμολόγουν καὶ
 ἀνεκρήρυτον.

25

10. Καὶ φήμη τις περὶ αὐτῆς μεγάλη τὰς ἀπάντων ἐντεῦθεν διέθεεν
 ἀκοάς· καὶ πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ πόλις συνέτρεχε πρόσωπον αὐτῆς
 ἐπιποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν τὸ τίμιον καὶ λόγον αὐτῆς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ εὐχῶν

PILSK

8 καθ’· add. ἐκάστην I || 13 τὰ om. ILSK || 18 παρακαθίζουσα P (sed cf. infra 102,12) || 27 αὐτῆς· ἐκείνης P

6—7 διὰ . . . σωτηρίαν· Heb. 1,14 || 10 κολληθῆναι τούτῳ· cf. Ps. 118(119),25 ||
 28 ἐπιποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν· cf. 1 Thess. 3,6

² The diaconicon, a development of the Middle Byzantine period, is the room in which the celebrant is invested with the liturgical garments and in which those garments as well as other sacred utensils and books are kept. Here it is the place where Irene usually gathers

heaven an angel of God, clad in a white garment and effulgent of appearance. Taking his stand before her he filled her with an unfathomable joy. Not only did he not frighten her with his marvellous figure, but even spoke gently to her and said, ‘Hail, faithful servant of God! Behold, in accordance with your prayer the Lord has sent me to serve you *for them who shall be heirs of salvation* through you. I will be with you always, clearly showing you, day by day, *those things which are done in secret*.’ And with these words he disappeared from her sight. Prostrating herself on the floor, striving to cleave to it, she sent up thanks to God, and from that day on God’s angel did not cease to appear and reveal to her acts committed secretly not only by the sisters but by anyone.

After the morning doxology she took a short rest in solitude and dozed for a while according to her habit (for her standing prayer lasted all night). Then she went into the diaconicon² of the church. Calling each of the sisters in to her, naming their names and having them sit down beside her, she gently made intimations about obscure and secret things. Skilfully hinting at their souls’ emotions and thoughts³ and pricking their conscience, she provoked them to confess their transgressions and repent, and exacted promises of complete improvement of such faults. This made the sisters beside themselves for amazement. No longer did they merely pay heed to her as before but confessed and proclaimed that Irene was superior to human beings.

10. Admonitions to Visitors

Thereafter a mighty rumour about her spread to the ears of all, and the whole city gathered before her, *desiring to see* her venerable face, hear a word from her, and enjoy her prayers. To all comers fulfilling the law

the nuns to give them spiritual advice (relevant passages are indicated in the Greek Index, s.v. διακονικόν).

³ Cf. *VNicMet*, ed. Lampsides 46,34—35, ἡρέμα πῶς καθήπτετο αὐτῶν τῆς καρδίας, ἐλέγχων τὰ τοῦτοις ἐν κρυφῇ πεπραγμένα. For the whole scene demonstrating Irene’s gift of τὸ διορατικόν, which has many parallels in this literature, cf. also *VASal*, PG 111, 704BC. Contrast, on the one hand, the psychologically convincing description of a similar situation in *VAthanaB*, ed. Noret 27,8 ff.; and, on the other, the materialist solution of the problem of supervision in *VNicetMed*, xxivE: Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπιτετραμμένοι ἀδελφοὶ λεληθότως, οἱ ἐκάστῳ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢ πραττόμενα τοῖς πατράσιν ἀνήγγελλον, ὥς ἐκ τούτου μὴ τολμᾶν τινα μηδὲ ἀπόντων τῶν προεστώτων ἀργόν τινα λόγον φθέξασθαι, τοὺς ὀνειδισμοὺς φεύγοντες.

ἀπολαύσαι. Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς προσερχομένοις τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης νόμον ἀποπληροῦσα τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν περιπαθῶς εἰς φανερόν αὐτοῖς ἦγεν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ πρὸς μετάνοιαν καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιστροφὴν ἐνήγεν ἐνταλμάτων, τὴν τοῦ βίου ματαιότητα διεξιούσα καὶ τὸ τῆς δίκης 5
 33 ‘Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα’, λέγουσα, ‘διὰ μετανοίας τῶν σφαλμάτων τὴν ἄφεσιν εὐρωμεν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐκκαθαρθώμεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔστι μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἐξομολόγησις καὶ μετάνοια, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῆς 10
 Ε ἀποκειμένης τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι κολάσεως καὶ τιμωρίας ἀποφυγῇ.’
 Παρήγγελλε δὲ μάλιστα πάντων ἀκαθαρσίας ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ 10
 πλεονεξίας καὶ τρυφῆς — ‘τούτοις γάρ’, φησὶν, ‘ὁ πονηρὸς τοὺς ἐν βίῳ κλονουμένους ὡς ἄρκυσιν ἰσχυροῖς εὐκόλως καταζωγρεῖ’ —, ἐλεημοσύνης δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἀεὶ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι παραπτώμασι — ‘πολλὰ γὰρ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμῖν τὰ προσκόμματα.’ ‘Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν 15
 γλῶσσαν παιδεύειν μὴ πρὸς ὕβρεις καὶ λοιδορίας εἶναι πρόχειρον — “Ὅς γὰρ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· Μωρέ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ πυρὶ τῆς γεέννης”, ὡς ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ “Ἐν ᾧ κρίματι κρίνομεν κριθησόμεθα”. Εὐκόλος γὰρ ἢ διὰ γλώσσης ἁμαρτία καὶ χαλεπή, 20
 34 ἁμαρτάνειν πρόχειρον. Τοὺς ὅρκους φεύγειν τελέως καὶ μὴ διασύρειν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα πανταχοῦ καὶ περιττῶν ἕως καὶ οὐδαμινῶν προφάσεων, ὅπερ φρίττουσι καὶ ἄγγελοι ὀνομάζοντες· καταφρόνησις γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ καταφρονῶν πράγματος καταφρονηθήσεται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τί πείσεται ὁ καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ 25
 θεοῦ; Πῦρ ἡμᾶς δοκιμάσαι περιμένει καὶ διακρίναι τὸν δίκαιον καὶ 30
 F τὸν ἀσεβῆ. Σεβασθῶμεν καὶ φοβηθῶμεν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν μὴ περιφρονῶμεν σωτηρίαν· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγεν, ἵνα μερίς καὶ κληρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γενώμεθα καὶ μὴ τῷ διαβόλῳ μερίς, ᾧ τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον ἡτοιμάσται, ὥστε σὺν ἐκείνῳ 30

PILSK

1 ἀπολαύσεσθαι ILSK || 6 λέγουσα: φησι P om. I || 6—7 τὴν ἄφεσιν εὐρωμεν: εὐρήσομεν ἄφεσιν P || 10 παρήγγειλε ILSK || 16 γλῶτταν P || 17 εἶποι P || ὄρα in marg. I || 27 σεβασθῶμεν καὶ φοβηθῶμεν: σεβώμεθα τοίνυν καὶ φοβώμεθα P σεβῶμεν καὶ βοηθῶμεν I

17—18 Mt. 5,22 || 18—19 Mt. 7,2 || 21 τοὺς . . . τελέως: cf. Mt. 5,34; Iac. 5,12 || 24—25 ὁ καταφρονῶν . . . ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ: Prov. 13,13 || 26 πῦρ . . . περιμένει: cf. 1 Cor. 3,13 || 26—27 διακρίναι . . . ἀσεβῆ: cf. Ps. 10(11),5 || 30 τὸ πῦρ . . . ἡτοιμάσται: cf. Mt. 25,41

of love, she eagerly revealed in her conversations with them what they bore in their souls and urged them on to repentance and conversion to God’s commands, expounding the vanity of life, the inescapability of justice, the terror of Gehenna and the enjoyment of the good, saying, ‘Unless we find redemption through repentance for our faults and are purified from our sins here, then, as there is no room for confession and repentance after our departure, so there will be no escape from the punishment and retaliation that await those who sin.’

She exhorted them most of all to refrain from impurity, greed, and luxury. ‘Therewith’, she said, ‘the Evil One will easily capture, as with strong nets, those who are harassed by life. You must be careful’, she continued, ‘to the best of your ability about mercy and moderation and self-control, and always show repentance for transgressions made, for numerous are our offences every day.’¹ You must also train the tongue not to lend itself to presumptuous and reviling speech. For *whosoever shall say* to his brother “*Thou fool!*” *shall be in danger of hell fire*, as we have heard, and *with what judgment we judge we shall be judged*. Sin committed with the tongue is both easy and severe, for whereas other kinds of sin are not readily accessible, sinning with the tongue is ready to hand.² Oaths you must avoid completely and not hold God’s name up to ridicule everywhere and on the most extravagant and petty pretexts, the name that even angels tremble to mention; such is contempt of God. And since *whoso despiseth* a thing *shall be despised* thereby, what shall he suffer who is despised by God? A *fire* awaits to *try* us and to distinguish *the righteous* from *the wicked*. Let us show reverence and fear of God, and let us not disregard our own salvation. From non-existence He has promoted us to existence in order that we become God’s portion and lot, not a portion of the Devil for whom the *everlasting fire* is *prepared*, to be thrown with

10. ¹ The sentence begun with παρήγγειλε . . . ἀπέχεσθαι continues in direct speech on line 15. Transitions to and from *oratio obliqua* often cause difficulties which may lead to a gliding grammatical structure; cf. note 6 on ch. 13, *infra*.

² Cf. Bas. Caes., *Hom. in Ps. 33*, 9 (PG 29, 373B), σχεδὸν γὰρ ἡ προχειροτάτη καὶ πολὺτροπος ἁμαρτία ἢ διὰ γλώσσης ἐστὶν ἐνεργουμένη; cf. also Greg. Naz., *Carm.* 33, 59—60 (PG 37, 932A); Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 4, 17—18.

βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἀνύποιστον ἐκείνην καὶ ἄσβεστον εἰς αἰῶνα
 τηγανίζεσθαι φλόγα. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτάνειν τῆς φυσικῆς ἡμῶν
 ἀσθενείας ἴδιον, τὸ ἐλεεῖν δὲ καὶ συγχωρεῖν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄγαν
 οὐθένηαν τοῦτο, οἱ καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι ταύτην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ
 35 δακρῶν αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπταισμένων τὴν ἄφεσιν. Τούτοις οὖν καὶ τοῖς
 τοιούτοις πολλοὶ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῇ συγκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλως
 ἐχόντων κατὰ τὸν βίον διδασκόμενοι καὶ νοθετούμενοι, καὶ
 γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παρθένων τῶν περιφανείᾳ γένους σεμνυνομένων,
 προσεῖχον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀπάγουσαν εἰς ζωὴν μετὰ πάσης
 10 προθυμίας ἐπορεύοντο πορείαν, διὰ στόματος φέροντες πανταχοῦ
 τὴν Εἰρήνην καὶ θαυμάζοντες.

11. Αὐτὴ δὲ οὔτε τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἔληγεν εὐχαριστίας, οὔτε τῆς
 παννύχου στάσεως ἐνεδίδου. Καὶ δὴ ποτε περὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου ταύτης
 ἀρξαμένης καὶ τὰς ὁσίας ἐπαράσης χειρὰς, ὡς ἔθος, εἰς οὐρανόν,
 15 περὶ πού το μεσονύκτιον φάλαγξ δαιμονίων ἀθρόον ἐπιστάσα φωναῖς
 ἀσήμοις τε καὶ τεταραγμένη βοῇ τὴν ἀκίνητον αὐτῆς διασαλεῦσαι
 615A στάσιν ἐπειρῶντο. Τούτων δὲ πονηρότερον ἐν οἷα καὶ αὐθαδέστερον
 πλησίον αὐτῆς γενόμενον ἐφῄκει ταύτην μυκτηριζεῖν καὶ τὰ μύμων
 φθέγγεσθαι, Εἰρήνην ξυλίνην καὶ ξυλίνους τοῖς ποσὶ βασταζομένην
 20 λέγον καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα φλυαροῦν. Καὶ μεταβαλλόμενον αὐθις ὠδύρετο·
 "Ἐως πότε τὴν γενεὰν ἡμῶν, φάσκον, 'θλίβεις; ἕως πότε ταῖς
 μακραῖς σου μαστίξεις ἡμᾶς προσευχαῖς; ἕως πότε καίεις ἡμᾶς; ἕως
 πότε σου ἀνεξόμεθα; Πλήρεις ἡμεῖς ἀνίας τῆς παρὰ σοῦ."
 36 Εἶτα σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκουν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατατρύχεσθαι καὶ τὰς
 25 περειὰς τύπτοντα θρῆνον πολὺν ἐξηχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ τούτοις τῇ
 συμφορᾷ. Ὡς δὲ μηδὲν ἦνυον πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον αὐτοῖς, ἐκείνη

PILSK

3 δὲ ἐλεεῖν inv. IK || 16 δαιμόνων P δαιμονία I || 17 τε om. ILSK ||
 ἀκίνητον: ἀκοίμητον I || 18 ἐπειρᾶτο I || 20 ξυλίνους: ξύλοις ILSK || 26
 τούτοις om. P

10—11 τὴν . . . πορείαν: cf. Mt. 7,14

11. ¹ Demons are particularly active and dangerous at midnight (and midday; see A.-J. Festugière on *VTheodSyc*, ch. 16, vol. 2, 179). Cf. *VEuthymIun*, ed. Petit 194,4—5, νύξ ἦν καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ μεσαίτατον· καὶ σκόπει μοι ἐνταῦθα τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἀναΐδειαν.

² I.e., hard and insensitive, referring to Irene's untiring asceticism, esp. her standing

him into that insupportable and unextinguishable flame and be burnt for ever. Sinning belongs to our natural weakness, whereas it is a work of God's love to show mercy and forgiveness. But this is for those who understand their own great nothingness and who confess it before Him and with tears beg for forgiveness of their sins.' Taught and admonished with these and similar words, many among her visitors, senators as well as people with other positions in this life, and also women and girls who took pride in the prominence of their families, began to take heed to themselves and to walk with all readiness of mind *the way which leadeth unto life*, speaking about Irene everywhere and admiring her.

11. Irene Attacked by Demons

But she did not cease from her thanksgiving to God nor relax from her night-long standing. Once, when she had begun her exercise about sunset, raising her holy hands to heaven, as was her wont, a horde of demons suddenly appeared before her—it was about midnight¹—and tried with inarticulate shouts and agitated cries to shake her so as to prevent her immobile standing. One of them, being more evil as well as more insolent than the others, seemed to approach her and sneer at her, shouting such words as mimes use to utter. 'Irene is made of wood', he said, 'she is carried by wooden legs',² and he spoke still other nonsense. Again he changed his tone and lamented, 'How long will you oppress our race? How long will you lash us with your protracted prayers? How long will you burn us? How long shall we have to endure you? We have enough of the distress that you cause us.'

Then also the rest of them seemed to be afflicted and give vent to loud lamentation, slapping their cheeks as if a great calamity had befallen them. But they made no progress towards the goal which they strived for,

prayers; cf. Rydén, *Symeon Salos*, Index, s.v. ξύλον. What τὰ μύμων was is further exemplified *infra*, 70,20—22. — The activities of μῦμοι in 10th-c. Constantinople are graphically illustrated by *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye, 217,32—218,4 (about the eunuch Sergios), μετὰ γὰρ μῖμου τινός, κωμαστοῦ τε καὶ γελοιαστοῦ τυγχάνοντος, εἰς λόγους ἀστείους, οἷα φιλεῖ πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς, ἐληλυθώς, . . . εἰς λοιδορίας ἀλογωτέρας τραπείας καὶ σκώμματα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιδοριῶν καὶ σκωμμάτων εἰς ὕβρεις καὶ ἀτιμίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ κατηγοριῶν ἀπομανεῖς ἐκεῖνος, χειρῶν ἀρξας ἀδίκων ὡς καὶ μέθη βεβακχευμένος οἰνοφλυγίας, εἰς μάλιστα κατέληξε καὶ πληγὰς (the scene ends with Sergios half dead in a hospital). Cf. F. Tinnefeld, 'Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)', *Byzantinica*, 6 (1974), 321—343.

δὲ ὥσπερ ἀρπαγεῖσα εἰς οὐρανὸν ὅλην εἶχεν ἐκεῖ πρὸς θεὸν τὴν
διάνοιαν, ἀκλόνητος τὸ παράπαν καὶ ἀπτόητος ἵσταμένη, τὴν χεῖρα
τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀπλώσαν καὶ πυρσὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θρυαλλίδος ἐπιμύξαν
καθῆκε περὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῆς ὁσίας. Ὁ δὲ καθάπερ τισὶ ῥιπίσιν
ἀνάψας, ὅλον μὲν τὸ κουκούλιον σὺν τῷ ἐπωμίῳ καὶ τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ
λάβρως κατακαίων ἦψατο καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν· καὶ διεπορεύετο
καταφλέγων τοὺς ὤμους, τὸ στήθος, τὴν ῥάχιν, τοὺς νεφρούς, τοὺς
B λαγόνas, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ὅλον ἂν περιῆλθε τὸ σῶμα τὸ πῦρ
ἐπινεμόμενον, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς εὐχαῖς
ἐγρηγορῦα καὶ τῆς κνίσσης τῶν σαρκῶν ὁσφραινομένη καὶ Ἰοῦ
ποτε τῆς μονῆς τὸ καιόμενόν ἐστιν· ἐξῆλει θροηθεῖσα τῆς κέλλης· καὶ
ῥινηλατοῦσα ἐπομένη τῇ δυσωδίᾳ μέχρι τοῦ τῆς προεστώσης ἔστησε
τοὺς πόδας κελλίου. Παρακύψασα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καπνοῦ καὶ κνίσσης
πεπληρωμένον ἰδοῦσα, τῆς θύρας ἐκστροφὴν μόγις ποιησαμένη
εἰσῆλθε μὲν, εὗρε δὲ — θέαμα φρικτόν — ὅλην μὲν τὴν Εἰρήνην
ἐμπεπρησμένην, ἀκίνητον δὲ καὶ ἀρρεπῇ καὶ ἀήττητον ἑστηκυῖαν καὶ
μηδαμῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστρεφομένην πυρκαϊᾶς.
37 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς μόνον σπεύδουσα τὸ κατασβεῖν τὴν φλόγα καὶ τοῦ
πυρὸς ἐξελέσθαι τὴν διδάσκαλον ἤρξατο τε κλονεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ
συσσεῖν, σβεννύσα τὸ πῦρ καὶ καταστέλλουσα τὴν φλόγα, τὰς
χεῖρας ὁψέ ποτε τῆς ἐκτάσεως ἐκείνη κατενεγκοῦσα, Ἰνα τί τοῦτο
πεποίηκας, τέκνον μου; ἀπεκρίνατο, τί με τοσοῦτων ἀπεστέρησας
τῇ εὐνοίᾳ σου ταύτῃ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν; Οὐ δέον ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν
τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν ἄγγελος ὥρατο θεοῦ πλέκων μοι στέφανον ἐξ ἀνθέων ὧν
C ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα

PILSK

1 οὐρανοὺς I || 3 ἀπομύξαν I || 4 τισὶ ῥιπίσιν: τι σιρὶ πίσιν LSK τι σιρὶ πίσον
I || 26 εἶδε: οἶδε codd.

1 ἀρπαγεῖσα εἰς οὐρανὸν: cf. 2 Cor. 12,2 || 23—24 οὐ . . . θεοῦ: cf. Mt. 16,23; Mc.
8,33 || 26 ὀφθαλμὸς . . . ἤκουσε: 1 Cor. 2,9

³ This scene may have a realistic background in the author's experience of a nightly
accident, which is here explained in demonological terms and in the end serves as a
potential means of martyrdom for Irene (*infra*, line 24 ff.). The phrase πυρσὸν . . .
ἐπιμύξαν presents difficulties which seem to admit of two different solutions, both relying
on old authority. The first is represented by the author of the *diaskeuē* in the MS V; his
version reads, καὶ μέρος τι τῆς θρυαλλίδος ὑπορρίπτει τῷ χιτῶνι ταύτης ὁ δυσμενής,
which makes excellent sense. It seems to presuppose the attractive variant ἀπομύξαν
(‘snuff [a wick]’) found in I, but since this passage of VI itself is lacking in V, we do

whereas Irene, as if *caught up to heaven*, had her whole mind there with
God, standing wholly unshaken and undaunted. Then the demon
stretched out his hand and kindled a stick against the lamp-wick.³ He
dropped it around the neck of the holy woman, and it burnt up as if
fanned, violently inflaming her whole hood along with the scapular and
the shift, and began even to lick her flesh. It went over her, scorching her
shoulders, her breast, her spine, her kidneys, and her flanks. As it spread,
the fire would soon have encircled her body, had not one of the sisters,
who was awake for the nocturnal prayers, smelled the smoke from her
flesh and left her cell in fear, thinking, ‘In what part of the convent can
the fire be?’ Tracking the scent she followed the odour to the cell of the
abbess and stopped there. Looking in and seeing that it was filled with
smoke and steam she only just managed to fling the door open and
entered. She found—a terrible sight!—Irene all in flames but standing im-
mobile and unwavering and unconquered, paying no heed whatever to
the fire.

As the sister, striving only to quench the flame and remove her teacher
from the fire, began to agitate and shake her, extinguishing the fire and
putting out the flame, at last she lowered her hands from their extended
position and remarked, ‘Why did you do this, my child? Why did you
deprive me of those great good things through your untimely kindness?’⁴
We ought to savour *not the things that be of men, but those that be of*
God. Behold, before my eyes there appeared an angel of God twining me
a wreath⁵ of flowers that *eye hath not seen not ear heard*, and he already

not know what the diaskeuast actually read in his model, and the support of I alone is
virtually negligible. The second solution was presented in Agapios Landos's Modern Greek
version; it reads, ἦναψε κερί ἀπὸ τὴν κανδήλαν (in V. Matthaios, *Ὁ μέγας*
συναξαριστής . . . , vol. 7 [1950], 465), and this can probably be reconciled with
ἐπιμύξαν. The references for ἐπιμύσσω in TGL seem irrelevant here (= μυκτηρίζω, ‘sniff
at’, metaphorically); rather it is useful to refer to the cognate nouns μύξα, ‘nasal mucus’
but also ‘lamp-pipe or -wick’ (LSJ, s.v.), and μυξωτήρ, ‘nostril’ but also ‘vessel for
pouring oil into a lamp’ (LSJ, Supplement, s.v.; Frisk, s.v. μύσσομαι). For ἐπιμύσσω
they would seem to indicate the sense of ‘bring the wick [or pipe] of a lamp near [something,
so as to kindle it]’. In either case πυρσός is a rather unspecific term for some kind of
burning material, either a piece of the lamp-wick or something else. ‘Stick’ may be sug-
gested by the usual sense ‘torch’ (LSJ, s.v., ἰ), but this point is a weak one. Possibly
ἐπιμύξαν is corrupt.

⁴ Proverbial; cf. Zenobios, *Paroem.*, I 50, ἄκαιρος εὐνοιοῦδὲν ἐχθρας διαφέρει;
Ignatios of Antioch, *Rom.*, 4,1, μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθαι μοι.

⁵ The crown of martyrs is sometimes the prize for a successful ascetic struggle; cf. *VTheo*-

διατεινομένην εἶχε τῇ ἐμῇ τοῦτον ἐπιθεῖναι κεφαλῇ· σοῦ δὲ τῆς προμηθείας ἔνεκεν ἄπεισίν με λιπών, ἔχων τὸν στέφανον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Τί οὖν μοι, τέκνον, ἀγνωμοσύνης χεῖρονα τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἀπέδωκας; Μισῶ δωρεὰν προξενούσαν μοι ζημίαν.' Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ἡ μαθήτρια, δάκρυα στάζουσα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἤρξατο τὰ προσφύοντα ταῖς σαρκὶ τῆς ὁσίας ῥάκια ζέοντα ἔτι τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐκείθεν ἀνασπᾶν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ξένη τις ἐκ τούτων ἀνεπέμπετο εὐωδία μύρου παντὸς καὶ ἀρωμάτων πολυτίμων ἀσυγκρίτως εὐωδεστέρα, ἣτις ὅλην ἐπλήρωσε τὴν μονήν, ἐφ' ἱκανὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς 38 παροδεύοντας ἐπευφραίνεσθαι διαρκοῦσα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἕτερον ἱμάτιον τῇ ὁσίᾳ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅπερ ταῖς τιμίαις σαρκὶν αὐτῆς ἢ φλοῶς συγκατέφλεξε, πορευθεῖσα ἤνεγκεν ἡ ἐπαινετὴ μαθήτρια ἱμάτιον ἑαυτῆς καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐνέδυσσε μητέρα· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τῶν αὐτῆς κατορθωμάτων, τὸ μὴ δεῦτερον κεκτῆσθαι χιτῶνα, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην πέμπτην 15 τοῦ πάσχα τὸν φορούμενον παρ' ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπαμφιένυσθαι καὶ αὐθις καινὸν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι, τὸ μέντοι παλαιὸν ἱμάτιον πενομένην δίδοσθαι γυναικί.

616D 12. Μετὰ γοῦν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τῷ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἱατρῷ τὰς πυρακτωθείσας ἱατρευθεῖσα σάρκας, αὐτὴ μὲν εἶχετο τῶν 20 ὁμοίων· τὸ δὲ τῆς προφητείας χάρισμα ἐπὶ πλέον ἠύξανεν αὐτῇ καὶ ἠύγαζε καὶ τὰ πόρρω προβλέπειν ἐδίδου. Κυρίλλου γὰρ ποτε πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ εὐνούχου παραγενομένου, ὃς οἰκειότατός τε ἦν καὶ

PILSK

6 προσφύσαντα ILSK || 11 ἱμάτιον om. P || 12 κατέφλεξε S || 14 αὐτῆς· ἑαυτῆς S || 16 ὅλον· ὅλον τὸν I

14—15 μὴ . . . χιτῶνα: cf. Lc. 9,3

dorThess, ed. Arsenij 20, ch. 34 (Kurtz, 20,1 ff.): when she has spent a night outdoors in rain and snow, a wreath for the Saint (who is compared with the forty martyrs of Sebaste) descends from heaven. But the nuptial wreath of the bride of Christ may also be suggested (cf. *supra*, 12,15—16; *infra*, 96,1—2). The ideas are juxtaposed in Theodoret, *HRel*, XXIX 6 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, 236): (Marana and Kyra) τὸ γὰρ τοῦ νυμφίου φανταζόμεναι κάλλος εὐπετῶς μάλα καὶ ῥαδίως φέρουσι τοῦ δρόμου τὸν πόνον καὶ καταλαβεῖν ἐπείγονται τῶν ἀγώνων τὸ τέλος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἐστῶτα βλέπουσαι καὶ τῆς νίκης ὑποδεικνύντα τὸν στέφανον. Cf. Lampe, s.v. στέφανος, 7.

⁶ Cf. e.g. *MartPolyc*, 15, 2, [when Polycarp was burnt at the stake,] εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα, ὥς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων, and see

kept his hand extended to put it on my head. But because of your concern he left me and went away with his wreath. Why, my child, did you render me an act of consideration worse than ingratitude? I hate a gift that causes me a loss.' When the disciple heard this she began, tears falling from her eyes, with her fingers to pull away the Saint's clothes which, still glowing, stuck to her flesh. And a strange fragrance was exhaled from them, incomparably more fragrant than any perfume and precious scents,⁶ which filled the whole convent, for many days sufficing even for passersby to delight in. But as the Saint did not possess another garment but the one that the flame had consumed together with her precious flesh, the laudable disciple went away, and bringing a garment of her own dressed her spiritual mother. For it was also a part of her virtues not to possess a second dress, but once a year at Easter, on the great Holy Thursday, to leave off the one she had been wearing all the year and don a new one, handing the old garment over to some poor woman.⁷

12. The Murders of the Caesar Bardas and the Emperor Michael Predicted

After a few days, when her burnt flesh had been cured by the Healer of souls and bodies, she adhered to her former practices. But the gift of prophecy grew ever stronger in her, illumining her so as to let her foresee future events. Once when the eunuch Cyril¹ had come to her, being an

B. Kötting, 'Wohlgeruch der Heiligkeit', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungs. 9 (1982), 168—175.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, 18,24. For the practice of changing clothes at Easter, cf. the *Typikon* of the Pantokrator Monastery (Cple), ed. Gautier, II. 607 ff. (p. 65). It is combined with an act of charity which here rather seems a formalized routine. It appears in a more natural context in *VMarlun*, ed. Peeters 696F: when Maria is dead, a servant explains to her astonished husband, ὅτι μὴ δεῦτερόν ἐστι τῇ ἐμῇ κυρία θαυμάζεις ἱμάτιον εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, ὃ ταύτην λούοντες περιεδύσαμεν οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνης τῆς φιλανθρώπου ψυχῆς ἰδεῖν γυμνὸν καὶ περιδεῖν, οὐκ ἦν θεάσασθαι πένητα καὶ παριδεῖν.

12. ¹ It is notable that a servant of Irene's sister is named whereas his mistress remains anonymous. Cyril's role may be compared with that of another named figure, Irene's 'close friend' Christopher (ch. 22, *infra*): both are links connecting the female world of the convent with the mainly male world outside, a function that the sister could not perform. The two men, one a eunuch, the other probably an elderly person, may reflect the real social network of Chrysobalanton.

ευνούστατος τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ θεράπων — γυναῖκα δὲ ταύτην
 ὑστάτην ὁ λόγος ἀνωτέρω τοῦ καίσαρος ἐδήλωσε Βάρδα —,
 κατ'ἰδίαν τοῦτον ἀπολαβοῦσα μηνύει δι'αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ταῦτα
 εἰποῦσα· 'Πρόσεχε καὶ φρόντισον τὰ περὶ σεαυτῆς· ὁ γὰρ καῖσαρ,'
 φησὶν, 'ὁ σὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ, ἐμὸς δὲ γαμβρός, συγχωρήσει θεοῦ καὶ
 κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος ἀνεφίκτοις ἐπιβουλήν ὑποστήσεται ὅσον
 39 οὕτω καὶ τεθνήξεται παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιβουλευσαμένου. Μετ'ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ
 αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνεπίδους βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ὡσαύτως πείσεται διὰ τὰς
 ἀνοσίους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀθεμίτους πράξεις· διαπαίζων γὰρ τὰ θεῖα
 διαπαιχθήσεται. 'Αλλὰ σκεπτέον σοι μήτε θῆσιν ἔκφορα ταῦτα
 10 μηδενί, μήτε τῷ μέλλοντι κατασχεῖν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκήπτρα τῶν
 σῶν τινα συγγενῶν ἀντιβῆναι μὴ διακωλύσαι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ φόνων αἴτιος
 ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ θεοσεβέσι καὶ βασιλικοῖς κατακεκόσμηται
 προτερήμασι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεὸς εὐδοκεῖ ἐπ'αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ
 15 Ε ὠφελήσει ἐχθρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ.' 'Αλλ'ἐκείνη τὰς προρρήσεις τῆς ἀδελφῆς
 πιστὰς εἰδυῖα καὶ ἀναμφιλέκτους, τῷ φίλτρῳ νικηθεῖσα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 ἀνακαλύπτει τούτῳ πάντα τὰ μηνυθέντα. 'Ο δὲ σοβαρὸς τε ὢν καὶ
 ἀπονοίας ἀνάμεστος, ὡς ἀσύνετος οὐ συνῆκε πρὸς θεὸν καταφυγεῖν
 καὶ τῆς ἄνωθεν τυχῶν ἀντιλήψεως παραδραμεῖν τὸν προκείμενον
 κίνδυνον, καθὼς ποῦ φησιν 'Ιερεμίας ὅτι 'Εάν ἐπιστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῶν
 20 κακῶν αὐτοῦ, μετανοήσω ἀγὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν ὧν ἐλογισάμην
 ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ', ἀλλ' ἐνέκειτο μόνον τὸ ὄνομα ζητῶν τοῦ τὴν
 40 βασιλείαν διαδεχομένου μαθεῖν. Οὐκ εἶχε δὲ τὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντα· τίς
 γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἂ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος βεβούλευται διασκεδάσαι; 'Αλλὰ καὶ
 πολλάκις καὶ διαφόρους πρὸς τὴν ὁσίαν ἀπεσταλκῶς περὶ τούτου
 25 πεισόμενος εἰς μάτην ἐφαίνετο κοπιῶν, ἕως μετὰ βραχὺ κατὰ τὴν
 αὐτῆς ἐξέβη πάντα πρόρρησιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ καῖσαρ ἀνηρέθη παρὰ τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ, βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ
 F παλατίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος μετὰ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν — ἡνίοχος γὰρ

PILSK

5 γαμβρός: γαυρός P || 8 βασιλεὺς om. P || 12 τι ILSK || μὴ διακωλύσαι
 om. P || 20 ἐπιστρέψει P || 23 διαδεξαμένου ILSK || 24 δ' om. ILSK
 || 28 ὁ om. L || ἐν: καὶ ἐν ILSK

14—15 οὐκ . . . αὐτῷ: Ps. 88(89),23 || 20—22 Cf. Jer. 18,8 || 23—24 τίς . . .
 διασκεδάσαι: cf. Is. 14,27 || 26 εἰς . . . κοπιῶν: cf. Ps. 126(127),1 et sim. locc.

² Cf. *supra*, 8,18—20. Note the predicative ὑστάτην, 'at last, eventually'.

intimate and loyal servant of her sister—the above narrative² has shown
 her eventually to have become the wife of the Caesar Bardas—, she took
 him aside and informed through him her sister, saying, 'Beware and take
 care of yourself. By God's permission and inscrutable decisions, such as
 He is wont to take, the Caesar, your husband and my brother-in-law, will
 shortly fall foul of a plot and be killed by the plotter. Before long also
 his nephew, the Emperor Michael himself, will suffer the same fate be-
 cause of his impious and unlawful deeds: jeering at the divine he will be
 jeered at.³ But you must beware of making this known to anyone and of
 failing to prevent anyone among your kin from intervening against the
 man who shall seize the sceptre of the Empire.⁴ Even if the man will be
 guilty of murder, he is adorned with pious and imperial superiority, and
 therefore God is pleased with him and *the enemy shall not outwit him.*'
 But she, knowing that her sister's predictions were trustworthy and in-
 disputable, and overcome by love for her husband, revealed to him all
 that she had been told. He however, being proud and full of madness,
 did not understand, foolish as he was, to seek refuge with God and with
 help from on high to avoid the danger that lay before him, as in the saying
 of Jeremiah, 'If he turn from his evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought
 to do unto him.' No, he only persisted in seeking to learn the name of
 the man who was to assume the imperial power. But he had none to tell
 him, for *who can disannul* what the holy God has *purposed*? As again
 and again he sent messengers to the holy woman to ask about this, he ap-
 peared to *labour in vain*, until before long all turned out in accordance
 with her prediction. The Caesar was killed⁵ in front of the army, and the
 Emperor Michael himself, having entered the Palace of St Mamas after

³ Similar phrases are used in historiography about Michael III ordaining his drinking
 companion Gryllos patriarch: *VBMac*, Bonn ed. 244,3, τὰ θεῖα κατέπειξε; Skylitzes, ed.
 Thurn 109,27, τὰ θεῖα διαπαίζων.

⁴ The Greek text could be smoother, which indeed it is in P (cf. the critical apparatus).
 Nevertheless I believe it to be right as it stands. Firstly, this makes for better symmetry
 since the two infinitives dependent on σκεπτέον (μῆτε θῆσιν and μῆτε . . . μὴ
 διακωλύσαι) will have the same subject; secondly, similar repetitions of negations are
 found in VI (e.g. *infra* 100,27—28, ὁ λόγος δὲ βιάζεται καὶ ἕτερον σιωπῆς οὐκ ἐπικρύπτει
 οὐκ ἐπικρύπτει), and elsewhere. Cf. *VNicetPatric*, ed. Papachryssanthou ch. 23, *ad fin.*,
 with editor's note.

⁵ On 21 April 866.

ἦν —, κεκραιπαληκῶς ἐξ οἴνου κατὰ κόρον, οὗ συνεχῶς ἀπήλαυε, κρεουργηθεὶς ἀπέρρηξε τὴν ζωὴν, Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' αὐτὸν κατασχόντος· ᾧ τὰ σκῆπτρα ἐπὶ τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην ἐξετάθη γενεάν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅσον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οὐπερ ἡξίωτο προφητικοῦ χαρίσματος.

5

617B 41 13. Γυνὴ δέ τις τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, ἐκ Καππαδοκίας καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ γένος ἔλκουσα, προσήει τῇ θαυμασιωτάτῃ γυναικῶν Εἰρήνῃ, τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς κειραμένη καὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μία γενομένη μοναζουσῶν. Ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀεὶ βασκαίνων 10 διαφερόντως πονηρὸς σφοδρῶς ὑποδύς τὸν ταύτης κατὰ χώραν μνηστῆρα, λίαν ὑπέκαιε τοῦτον καὶ κατέτηκε τῷ τῆς μνηστευθείσης ἔρωτι· ὃν ἐκείνη καταλιποῦσα καὶ πάντων καταφρονήσασα διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν κύριον φίλτρον τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς ὁμοχώρου προσπέφευγεν Εἰρήνης. Ἀγνοῶν δὲ ὁ ταλαίπωρος ὡς οὐ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ὁ τοῦ 15 λοιποῦ πρὸς ἐκείνην διὰ κενῆς ἔρωτος (ἐμάνθανε γὰρ ἤδη ταύτην τὸν χρηστὸν ὑπελθοῦσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγόν), ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου ἔργον ἐπηρείας, ἡνιάτο, ἐδυσφόρει, ἐπασχεν ὅσα τοὺς τοιοῦτους πάσχειν εἰκός· καὶ τέλος μάγῳ τινὶ προσδραμῶν εὗρεν αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπνέτην τοῦ σατανᾶ δοκιμώτατον πάντα ποιήσιν τὰ κατὰ θέλησιν αὐτῷ καὶ πληρώσειν ἐπαγγελλούμενον. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τῆς 20 Καππαδοκῶν ἐργαζόμενος ἦν.

42 Τὴν κόρην δὲ ζέσις καρδίας ἐπεισπεσοῦσα παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ ὄλην ἐκφρενῇ μανικῷ τῷ πρὸς τὸν ποτε μνηστῆρα ταύτης ἔρωτι θήσασα 25 οὐδὲ καθεκτὴν εἶναι συνεχώρει, τῇ βίᾳ πηδῶσαν, βοῶσαν, στένουσαν, κλαίουσαν, μεγάλη φωνῇ τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα

PILSK

I κεκραιπαληκῶς· καὶ κεκραιπαληκῶς S || ἀπέλαυε P ἀπήλαυε I || 2 κρεουργισθεὶς I || 6 εὖ γεγονότων· εὐγενῶν I

15—16 τὸν . . . ζυγόν· cf. Mt. 11,30

⁶ Cf. Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed. 208,3—4, Μιχαὴλ δὲ . . . οὔτε τῶν ἵπποδρομιῶν οὔτε μὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκρατοποσιῶν . . . κόρος ἦν. His murder took place on 24 September 867. — On St Mamas's Palace (at modern Beşiktaş), see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), 473 f.

⁷ On the significance of this passage for the dating of VI, see Introduction, Ch. I. 2. The natural interpretation of ἢ καὶ is to take it not as truly disjunctive but as marking a climax, as, e.g., *infra*, 110,18—19, ὁμοίαν ἢ καὶ πολλῷ θαυμασιωτέραν; also 74,22; Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. Renaud, vol. 1, 3,25, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἢ καὶ μόνος τῆς τε συνεισφορᾶς . . . ἐφρόντιζε (cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* [Oxford, 1954], 306). Con-

a horse-race (he used to act as a charioteer), drunk to surfeit with wine⁶ which he constantly consumed, was butchered, his life cut short. Basil of Macedonia seized the imperial power after him, and his government was extended to the fourth, nay, fifth generation.⁷ Let this suffice as proof of the prophetic gift bestowed on her.

13. The Possessed Nun from Cappadocia

A woman from among the nobles, she too deriving her origin from Cappadocia, betook herself to Irene, most marvellous of women, and had the hair of her head shorn, becoming one in the row of nuns in her care.¹ The Evil One, who always in particular envies the good, violently took possession of her suitor at home, inflamed him badly, and broke him down from his love for his betrothed. This man she had left, in contempt of all things for her love to the Lord, taking refuge under the leadership of Irene, her compatriot. As the poor wretch did not realize that his vain and prospectless love for her was not an effect of his own nature (in fact he had already learnt that she had submitted herself to the *easy yoke* of Christ) but a work of the Devil's offence, he was distressed and vexed and suffered all that people in his predicament are likely to suffer. Finally running to a sorcerer he found him, as an approved servant of Satan, promising to do and fulfil all his desires. This was what he was doing in Cappadocia.²

Again, the girl was unexpectedly attacked by a seething passion which maddened her with a frantic lust for her former suitor and did not allow her to control herself. Violently leaping, screaming, moaning, crying, and calling out his name in a loud voice, she assured with fearful oaths that

sequently the phrase τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην should be taken merely as a rhetorically strengthened form of πέμπτην and does not imply any real uncertainty (with the latter interpretation the phrase could possibly be taken as a hint at the conditions during Basil II's minority).

13. ¹ On the following episode, cf. D. De F. Abrahamse, 'Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period', *ByzF*, 8 (1982), 3—17, esp. 13—14 (comparing a similar story in *ActAnastPers*, ed. Usener 14—20).

² This phrase marks the transition between two simultaneous series of events geographically separated. Other cases of the same narrative technique occur *infra*, 90,9 and 102,21 (see note ad loc.).

ἀνακαλουμένην καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτον δῶν τις αὐτῇ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ κόρον ὄψεως ἐπαπολαῦσαι καὶ κοινωνίας, διαβεβαιούσαν ὄρκοις φρικώδεσιν ἑαυτὴν ἀπαγχονῆσαι· εἴτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα πυκνὰ θέουσιν ἥν αὐτὴν ὄραν καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἐπισπεύδουσιν καὶ ταύτην ἀσήμερις κραυγαῖς καὶ σχήμασιν 5 ἀναιδέσιν ἐπιτάττουσαν τῇ θυρωρῷ. Ὡς οὖν εἰς ἀκοὰς ἦκε ταῦτα τῇ μακαρίᾳ Εἰρήνῃ, τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέραις τύψασα χερσίν, Ὁἱμοὶ τῇ ἀθλίᾳ, εἶπεν, ὅτι ῥαθυμία τῶν ποιμένων οἱ λύκοι τὰ πρόβατα διαρπάξουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πονηρέ, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ καταπίης τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο 10 κεφαλῆς ἡ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ περιτρέψει δύναμις'.

- 43 Καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶνθηες ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ γενομένη, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν μὲν τὰς ἀδελφὰς συνήγαγε, πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν αὐταῖς διαλεξαμένη καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πάσχουσιν παρα- 15 δείγματος διασαφήσασα δύναμιν καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, ἄγρυπνεῖν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτι ὁ ἀντίδικος ἡμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίῃ, καὶ ὅτι Ἀπὸ τοῦτο τῆς ἀγγέλης αὐτὸν ἐξω περιμένει τε καὶ ὠρύεσθαι θεὸς ἀφῆκεν, ἵνα τῷ 618D τούτου φόβῳ συνάγῃται πᾶς τις ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος Χριστοῦ καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τυγχάνων φρουρίῳ διαγελαῖ τοὺς αὐτοῦ 20 βρυχηθμούς. Παρήγγειλε τὸ καθόλου μήτε ἄρτου μήτε οἴνου δι' ὅλης ὁμοῦ τῆς ἐβδομάδος ταύτας ἀπογεύσασθαι, μόναις δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὁπώρας τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀνέχειν ταλαιπωρίαν, καὶ γονυκλισίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐκάστην αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας χιλίας ποιῆσθαι τὸν ἀριθμόν. Ἐκούσατε γάρ, φησὶ, τοῦ 25 κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰπόντος ὅτι Ὁ τοῦτο τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ. Καὶ μήτις ὑμῶν ὑπολαβέτω τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κόπον μηδὲν πρὸς οἰκείαν συντελεῖν ὠφέλειαν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα κέρδος, ἐν τούτῳ κρέμαται ἡ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ τάγματος πολιτεία, ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκονται, φησὶν ὁ κύριος, πάντες, ὅτι ἐμοὶ 30 μαθηταὶ ἐστε, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους καθὼς ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς.

PILSK

1 δώσει P || 6 ἦκε: ἦλθε P || 10 καταπίεις I || 16 διάβολος: ὁ διάβολος I || 17 καταπίεται P || 19 τούτου: τούτῳ P || 22 ταύτας: ταύτης P || 26 ἐκπορεύεται: ἐξέρχεται P

8—9 ῥαθυμία . . . διαρπάξουσιν: cf. Io. 10,12—13 || 16 ἀγρυπνεῖν . . . καιρῷ: cf. Lc. 21,36 || 16—17 ὁ ἀντίδικος . . . καταπίῃ: 1 Pet. 5,8 || 19 τοῦ . . . ποιμένος: cf. Io. 10,11 || 26—27 Mt. 17,21 || 28—30 τοῦτο . . . πολιτεία: cf. Mt. 22,38, 40 || 30—31 ἐν . . . ὑμᾶς: cf. Io. 13,34—35

unless someone let her see him with her eyes and enjoy to excess his sight and conversation, she would hang herself. Then one could see her continually running to the gateway, urging her escape and with inarticulate screams and shameless gestures ordering the door-keeper to let her out. When this reached the ears of the blessed Irene, she smote her eyes with both hands and said, 'Woe is me, wretched woman! When the shepherds are careless, the wolves catch the sheep. But you shall not have this pleasure, Evil One, you shall by no means devour the lamb of Christ! Against your own head will the power of my Lord Jesus turn this too.'

When she as usual had entered the diaconicon, she gathered the sisters before her, and having spoken long for their admonition and explained the Devil's power against us, starting from the example of the possessed girl, she said, 'We must *watch always*, for our *adversary the Devil as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour*. For this reason God has permitted him to wander about and howl outside the flock, that from fear of him everyone should come together under the shelter of Christ, *the good Shepherd*, and laugh at his roarings, being, as it were, in a safe fortress.' She exhorted them to take neither bread nor wine whatever during the whole week³ alike, but to sustain the hardship of the body solely with fruit in the evening, and to make genuflections to God on behalf of their sister, each of them to a number of a thousand a day.⁴ 'You have heard', she said, 'our Lord saying, *This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting*. No one among you must think that the toil for our sister does not contribute to our own good. For this brings the great benefit, on this hangs the conduct of the Christian order, *by this shall all men know* (so says the Lord), *that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that*

³ In fact the following procedure extends over seven days: The 3rd day passed and the 4th dawned (56,9—10); that day was devoted to prayer, and at midnight Irene had the vision of the Virgin (56,24—27); the following (5th) day was Friday, and at sunset she told the nuns about her vision (60,9—13); the next morning (of the 6th day) she sent the possessed nun to the Church of St Anastasia *Pharmakolytria* (62,5—8); on the next (7th) day they celebrated a feast (64,8—9).

⁴ A fantastic number which should be compared with the more realistic information on Apollō given in *HMonAeg*, VIII 5 (ed. Festugière, p. 48), ἑκατοντάκις μὲν ἐν νυκτί, τοσαυτάκις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κάμπτων τὰ γόνατα. This already is certainly to be understood as a very severe exercise.

Μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις θῇ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ”.

- 44 Καὶ συνταξαμένη ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς βαλοῦσά τε ταύταις μετάνοιαν ἀντιβαλοῦσαις πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκάστην παρέπεμψε κελλίον. Τῆς Ε ἑκτενοῦς δὲ ταύτης θερμῶς ἐπιτελουμένης προσευχῆς ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, καὶ πασῶν τούτων τὰς δεήσεις τῆς κεκαθαρμένης 5 διανοίας τῆς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνούσης τὸν θεὸν Εἰρήνης εὐθυβόλως καὶ ἀπαραποδίστως πρὸς τὸν εὐσπλαγχνον ἀναφερούσης, τρίτῃ μὲν ἡδὴ παρῆλθεν ἡμέρα. Περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀλεκτρούωνων ᾧδὰς τῆς τετάρτης ἐπιούσης, ἐν ᾧ μὲν εἰστίκει 10 πρεσβεύουσα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὕψος τεταμένης ἡ ὁσία ἔχουσα, τὸν μέγαν ὄρᾳ Βασιλείον πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς ἐφεστηκότα, τοιοῦτον οἶον αἱ εἰκόνες γράφουσι, λέγοντα πρὸς αὐτήν· “Ἰνα τί οὕτω κατονειδίξεις ἡμᾶς, Εἰρήνη, καταδεχομένους οἶα δὴ τὰ μισὰ καὶ ἀθέμιτα παρὰ τῇ κοινῇ γινόμενα πατρίδι; Τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ μήτηρ, 15 ἰδοὺ, πρωΐας αὐριον ἐν Βλαχέρναις παραγίνεται· σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα μεθ’ αὐτῆς τὴν κακῶς πάσχουσάν σου μαθήτριαν ἐκεῖ τὸ τάχος εὐρέθητι, καὶ πάντως τεύξεταί τῆς ἰάσεως.” Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος 45 εἰπὼν ἀφανὴς ἦν. Ἡ δὲ συνῆκεν εὐθύς, ἅπερ πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου βλέπουσα πρὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας διελέγετο· τοιαῦτα 20 γὰρ τὰ παρ’ αὐτῆς ἐτύγγανε μετὰ δακρύων εἰρημένα, καὶ βοηθὸν ἐπεκαλέσατο καὶ ῥύστην τῆς κακῶς ἐχούσης γυναικός. Καὶ δὴ F παραλαβοῦσα ταύτην κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα καὶ δύο προκρίτους τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰς Βλαχέρνας κατέλαβε, καὶ παρ’ ὅλην οὐ διέλιπε τὴν 25 ἡμέραν δυσωποῦσα τὴν θεοτόκον καὶ δάκρυσι τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ ναοῦ διαβρέχουσα δάπεδον.

Ἐσπέρας δὲ καταλαβούσης ἄχρι μεσονυκτίου τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἅμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς παρέτεινε, περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον, ἅτε δὴ κεκοπιακῆται, καθεστθεῖσαι μικρὸν ὑπνωσαν. Ἐδόκει δὲ τὴν ὁσίαν Εἰρήνην ὄρᾳν πρόοδόν τινα φοβεράν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον 30 ἐτοιμαζομένην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔδαφος καθαιρόμενον οἶα ἀκριβῶς, καταρραϊνόμενον δὲ παντοίοις αὐθις ἄνθεσιν ἡδυπνόις, καὶ τινὰς

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7 ἀληθεία: διανοία P || 11 ἔχουσα ἡ ὁσία inv. P || 12 ἐστηκότα P || 13 οἶον: ὁποῖον P || 17 μετὰ σεαυτῆς P || 21—22 καὶ . . . ἐπεκαλέσατο: βοηθὸν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλουμένης P || 27 ἱκεσίαν P || 29 ὄρα in marg. P || 31 οἶα om. P || 32 δέ: τε P, qui αὐθις om.

1—2 Μείζονα . . . αὐτοῦ: Io. 15,13 || 7 ἐν . . . προσκυνούσης: cf. Io. 4,23

a man lay down his life for his friends.’

Taking leave and prostrating herself before the prostrate sisters she let each go to her own cell. As their assiduous prayer was ardently performed by the whole sisterhood, and the purified mind of Irene, worshipping God *in spirit and in truth*, accurately and freely referred the supplications of all of them to God, the Compassionate, the third day passed by. About cockcrow the following fourth day, while the holy woman stood interceding with her hands lifted up, she saw Basil the Great standing before her, looking such as the icons represent him,⁵ and saying to her, ‘Why do you reproach me, Irene, as if I connived at the abominable and unlawful deeds performed in our common native land? Look, tomorrow morning the Mother of God will come to Blachernai. Make your way there quickly with your possessed disciple, then she will surely be healed.’ With these words he disappeared. She recognized at once what she had said the evening before, while contemplating the icon of Basil the Great: these were the words she had spoken amid her tears, calling on him as helper and saviour of the sick woman. In accordance with his command she took the girl together with two selected sisters and went to Blachernai, and all day long she unceasingly supplicated the Mother of God and wet the sacred church-floor with tears.

Evening came, and she prolonged her prayer until midnight along with the sisters; at midnight they sat down and had a short sleep, exhausted as they surely were. In a dream⁶ the holy Irene saw an awe-inspiring populous procession being prepared. The floor was minutely cleaned and again strewn with all kinds of fragrant flowers, while some figures in

⁵ References to icons are often found in descriptions of visions. They are obviously meant to verify the identification of the appearing saint, in much the same way as Irene’s portrait enables the Emperor to identify her, *infra*, 96,28—29. But the really significant function of icons in this context was probably to provide *models* for visions, in literature and perhaps in life. Cf., for early hagiography, H. Delehay, *Les legendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1955), 70 f.

⁶ Ἐδόκει determines the accusative-with-infinitive structure of the following section up to ἐξυπνον γεγονέναι at 60,5 (this phrase does not logically depend on ἐδόκει which should only include the content of Irene’s dream). Note the slip into semi-direct speech at 58,23, and cf. *infra*, Grammatical Index, s.v. *indirect speech*.

χρυσοφοροῦντας θυμῶν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα κατευωδιάζειν ἀπιόντας καὶ
 ὑποστρέφοντας. Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα βλέπουσαν περιδεῇ γενομένην καὶ
 πυθομένην, τί ποτ' ἂν εἶη τοῦτο τὸ γινόμενον, ἀκοῦσαι παρά τινος
 46 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκριναμένου· 'Σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ, τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσα ὄλον, ὡς
 ἢ μήτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ πάρεστιν ὧδε καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ πρὸς 5
 τὸν τῆς ἀγίας ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ σοροῦ διάβασιν ποιήσασθαι, ἥς τὸ κλέος
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν οὐρανῷ ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς. Ἔσο τοίνυν ἔτοιμος· ἴσως
 ἀξιώθησιν ταύτην καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι.'

Καὶ τούτου λαλοῦντος αὐτίκα τοὺς προοδεύοντας τεθεᾶσθαι
 λαμπροὺς καὶ φωτοειδεῖς στιχηδὸν προπορευομένους, 10
 κατεσταλμένους ἐν φόβῳ τινὶ καὶ μεγάλῳ σεβάσματι, καὶ τὴν μητέρα
 619A τοῦ κυρίου μετὰ πλήθους πολλῶν παρεπομένων ὡς ἥλιος
 ἀστραπτόντων — τὸ μέντοι πρόσωπον αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν ἄστεκτον μὴ
 καθορᾶσθαι δυνατόν εἶναι φωτοχυσίαν —, περιεῖναι τε τοὺς ἐν 15
 ἀσθενείᾳ κατακειμένους ἐπισκεπτομένην, ἕως ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν
 τὴν τῆς Εἰρήνης μαθήτριαν. Τὴν δέ, τὴν ὁσίαν, πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῆς
 δεσποίνης καταπεσεῖν περιδεῇ καὶ περίτρομον, ἀκοῦσαι τε κειμένην
 φωνῆς τῆς πανάγου Βασίλειον καλούσης καὶ Ἰωάννην, φάναι τε
 πρὸς αὐτούς· 'Τίνος χάριν καταλιποῦσα τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτῆς ἐνταῦθα 20
 47 πάρεστιν ἢ Εἰρήνη;' Καὶ τούτων θάτερον τὸν Βασίλειον κατὰ μέρος
 ἅπαντα καταλέξει, ὅσα τε πάθοι ἢ κατὰ πνεῦμα θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ὅσα
 τε τούτου καταβοῶσα διετέλεσεν, ἀνεχομένου κατὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος
 γῆν γόητας ἀναστρεφομένους, καὶ ὡς 'Διὰ ταῦτα καταπεφυγέναι',
 φησί, 'πρὸς τὴν πάντα σου ἰσχύουσιν τῆς ἡμῶν δεσποίνης αὐτὴν 25
 ἐξουσίαν.'

Καὶ πάλιν ἀκοῦσαι λεγούσης 'Τὴν Ἀναστασίαν μοι καλέσατε', καὶ
 παραστῆναι δύο γυναῖκας αὐτίκα, ὧν τὴν μίαν, σχῆμα περικειμένην
 μοναχικόν, τὴν Ῥωμαίαν ᾤετο λέγεσθαι πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν
 ἐπιστραφεῖσα, 'Περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῆς μαθητευομένης τῇ Εἰρήνῃ
 B γυναικός', φησί, 'μετ' ἐπιμελείας ἐξετάσαι ἐπείχθητι, συνεργὸν 30
 εὐροῦσα καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Βασίλειον, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὡς
 λαβοῦσα χάρισμα παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ θεραπείας

PILSK

2 γινόμενην LSK || 9 τοῦτου: τοῦτο S || 10 στιχηδὸν I || πορευομένους
 P || 11 κατασταλμένους I om. P || 16 δέ, τὴν: δ' P δὲ I (cf. *infra* 102,5—6)
 || 17 τε: δὲ ILSK || 24 ἰσχύουσιν σου inv. P || δεσποίνης ἡμῶν inv. P ||
 αὐτὴν om. P, qui & supra ἡμῶν scr. || 31 εὐροῦσα: λαβοῦσα P || 32 μου post
 θεοῦ tr. P || καὶ² om. P

golden clothing scented the air with incense, walking up and down.

Very frightened at this sight and asking what was going on, she dreamt
 that she heard someone answering her, 'Who are you to be wholly ig-
 norant that the Mother of God is here and that she has been pleased to
 proceed from the Great Church⁷ to that of the Holy Casket, the fame of
 which is far greater in heaven than on earth? Be ready! Perhaps you will
 be permitted to see and adore her.'⁸

Presently, while he was speaking, she saw the participants in the proces-
 sion walking in line, bright and luminous, dignified by a certain awe and
 deep reverence.⁹ The Mother of the Lord went about with a numerous
 company of attendants who shone bright as the sun, yet *her* face was in-
 visible because of its unbearable effusion of light. She visited those who
 lay ill until she came just to the disciple of Irene. She, the holy woman,
 fell at the feet of Our Lady in deep awe and trembling. Lying there she
 heard a cry from the all-holy Lady calling for Basil and John and saying
 to them, 'Why has Irene left her flock and come here?' Out of the two
 Basil told her in detail about all that her daughter in the spirit had suffered
 and about the accusations with which she continued to charge him, be-
 cause he tolerated sorcerers dwelling in their native land. 'For this
 reason', he concluded, 'did she seek refuge in Thine all-powerful might,
 O Lady.'

Again Irene heard her saying, 'Call for Anastasia!' At once two
 women¹⁰ appeared, one of whom was dressed in a monastic habit and
 was called (it seemed to her) 'the Roman'. Turning to the other the Mother
 of God said, 'Hasten, with the help of St Basil, to inquire carefully into
 the illness of Irene's disciple and let her be healed, for you have received
 the gift of effecting such ends from my Son and God.' Then Anastasia

⁷ I.e., of Blachernai. On this church with the famous chapel of the Holy *Soros*, see Janin, *Siège de Cple*, 161—171; L. Rydén, as in note 11, *infra*.

⁸ Cf. *V Athan Athon* B, ed. Noret 68,25—26, εἰσῆγάγέ με εἰς τὸν βασιλέα [i.e. Christ] καὶ ἡξιώθην τοῦτον ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι.

⁹ Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 52 (PG 36, 564A), τοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστηκότας ἐν φόβῳ τινὶ καὶ σεβάσματι. — For parallels to the following procession visiting patients who wait to be cured, cf. *Mir Artem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 62, 18 ff.; *V Theodor Thess*, ed. Arsenij 30 f., ch. 51 (Kurtz, 30,14 ff.); *V Theophan*, ed. Kurtz 20,15 ff. (in a small private chapel); *VASal*, PG 111, 640A—C. For a recent discussion of Christian *incubatio*, see Fernández Marcos's introduction to his ed. of *Mir Cyrilo* (using mainly early material).

¹⁰ On the two Anastasias, see P. Devos, 'Sainte Anastasie la Vierge et la source de sa passion, *BHG*³ 762', *Anal Boll*, 80 (1962), 33—51, esp. 33—35.

ἀξιώσον.' Ἐδοξαν οὖν ἡ τε Ἀναστασία ὁ τε Βασίλειος ἅμα προσκυνήσαντες τὴν ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίαν τραπέσθαι σπουδῇ· καὶ τούτων οἰχομένων φωνὴν ἀκουσθῆναι παρὰ τινος πρὸς τὴν Εἰρήνην λέγουσαν· "Ἀπελθε εἰς τὸ μοναστήριόν σου καὶ ἰαθήσεται ἐκεῖ." Καὶ τῷ τῆς τοιαύτης ἡχῷ φωνῆς ἔξυπνον γεγονέναι.

48 Διυπνισθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τὰ ὁραθέντα ἀναλεγομένη, θαυμάζουσα κατηφιῶσα διετέλει· ἀφύπνισα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐτέρας διηγήσατο ταύταις ἅπαντα, καὶ δοῦσαι δόξαν τῇ θεομήτορι, ὡς ἀψευδέσι τοῖς ὁραθεῖσι πιστεύσασαι, πρὸς τὸ μοναστήριον ὑπέστρεψαν. Ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ ἡμέρα.

Περὶ δὲ τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀδελφαῖς τὸν τῆς μονῆς εὐκτήριον οἶκον εἰσιούσα τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς πληρῶσαι διηγήσατο τὸ ὄραμα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πάσας εἶχε μὴ διαπιστούσας ἀλλ' ἐκπληττομένας τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἶρειν πάσαις διεκελεύσατο καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον ἐξ ὅλης βοᾷ τῆς καρδίας, προκειμένης αὐτῶν τῆς πασχούσης καὶ μηδὲν σεμνὸν τῇ παραφορᾷ τῶν φρενῶν καὶ λεγούσης καὶ ποιούσης. Ἀλλὰ τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ κυρίου, ἀκουστὰς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ; Ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ταύταις ἡ δέησις παρετείνετο καὶ δάκρυσι τούτων τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ κατερραίνετο ἔδαφος, ὥραθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἰπτάμενοι ἡ τε καλλιμαρτυς Ἀναστασία καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, καὶ φωνή τις τούτων ἠκούετο πρὸς τὴν Εἰρήνην λέγουσα· "Ἀπλῶσον τὸν κόλπον σου καὶ δέξαι ταῦτα καὶ μηκέτι ἡμᾶς 49 ὀνειδίξε." Ὑπαπλώσασα δὲ δέχεται καταφερόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀπόδεσμον ὥσει λιτρῶν βάρους τριῶν. Συνδραμούσαι δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξιστάμεναι, τύπτουσαι τὰ στήθη τὴν θεοτόκον ἐδόξαζον. Ἀνάψασαι δὲ κηροὺς ἤρξαντο διαλύειν τὸν ἀπόδεσμον· ὁ δὲ εἶχεν ἔνδον παντοδαπὰς ἐνελημένας περιεργίας, καὶ εἶδωλα μολὶβδου κατεσκευασμένα δύο, τὸ μὲν τοῦ μνηστήρος, τὸ δ' ἕτερον τῆς κακῶς ἐχούσης ἐοικότα μοναχῆς, 30 περιπλοκὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα ποιούμενα καὶ θριξὶ καὶ μίτοις καταδεδεσμημένα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῆς πονηρίας σοφίσματα καὶ τὸ

PILSK

1 ὁ τε: καὶ ὁ P (cf. 80,9, infra) || 2 Καππαδοκίαν: τὴν K. P || 6 διαλεγομένη L, ἀνα suprascr. || 7 ἀφύπνισθεῖσα LSK || 9 ὁραθεῖσι: ὁράμασι ILSK || 12 εἰσιούσα . . . πληρῶσαι: εἰσιούσα καὶ . . . πληρώσασα P || 12—13 τὸ ὄραμα διηγήσατο inv. P || 13 πάσαις LSK || 15 πάσαις αἶρειν inv. ILSK || 22 τούτων om. P || 30 ἐοικότα om. P

14 τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ: Act. 2,11 || 17—19 τίς . . . αὐτοῦ: Ps. 105(106),2

and Basil seemed to make obeisance together and then in haste to set out for Cappadocia. When they were gone a voice was heard of someone saying to Irene, 'Go to your convent, there she will be healed.' At the sound of that voice she woke up.

Awake and recollecting her dream, she remained wondering and dejected. When she also had roused the others, she told them everything, and giving glory to the Mother of God they returned to the convent, trusting the dream to be unerring. The day was a Friday.¹¹

About sunset she went into the chapel of the convent to perform the usual prayers and related the vision to the other sisters. When she was assured that they all felt no distrust but were amazed at *the wonderful works of God*, she enjoined all to raise their hands to heaven and from the depths of their hearts to cry, 'Lord, have mercy!', as the possessed girl lay before them, speaking and acting unseemly in her disordered state of mind. But *who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? who can shew forth all His praise?* As their prayer was protracted over a long time and the church-floor was wet with their tears the martyr Anastasia and Basil the Great were seen flying through the air and a voice was heard from them saying to Irene, 'Unfold your garment and receive this, then reproach us no more.' From the air there was let down a package weighing about three pounds, and this she received in her unfolded garment. Running together, excited at the wonderful occurrence, all the sisters beat their breasts and extolled the Mother of God. Lighting candles they began to undo the package which contained a variety of magic devices wrapped in it: two idols made of lead, one resembling the suitor, the other the sick nun, embracing each other and bound together with hairs and threads, then some other contrivances of malignancy, and inscribed on them the

¹¹ The preceding vision appears to be a replica of the imperial procession in connection with the doxology at Blachernai on Friday nights; see L. Rydén, 'The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov', *AnalBoll*, 94 (1976), 63—82, esp. 67—72 (the passage of *VASal* discussed there [848C ff.] lacks the element of *incubatio* present here, 56,27 ff., *supra*). The Virgin is said to pass from the 'Great Church' (i.e. St Mary at Blachernai) to the Holy *Soros* (*supra*, 58,5—6), but Irene seems to witness only the preparations and the first stages of the procession since she does not move from the Great Church (the reference at 56,24—26 must be to this church). The day after the vision should have been Saturday, not Friday. Using the key-word 'Friday' to help the reader identify the scene, the author may simply have put it in the wrong place. Or is the vision meant as an anticipation of the real procession which (one may imagine) is being prepared in the Palace when Irene tells the nuns what she has seen? Cf. Const. Porph., *De Caer.*, Bonn ed. 551,4, τῇ παρασκευῇ ἔωθεν προέρχεται ἅπανα ἡ σύγκλητος, κτλ.

τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς κακίας ὄνομα καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ κλήσεις ἐγγεγραμμένας. Καὶ διετέλεσαν οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν ἀπόδεσμον διαλύουσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν εὐχαριστοῦσαι.

Πρωΐας δὲ ἤδη γενομένης κηροὺς καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ περίεργα 5 ταῦτα ταῖς συνούσαις ἐν Βλαχέρναις αὐτῇ δυοῖ μοναζούσαις 620D ἐγγχειρίσασα, παραδοῦσά τε ταύταις καὶ τὴν κακῶς ἔχουσαν πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἀπέστειλε τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας καὶ προσφορὰν καὶ ἔλαιον ἐπιδοῦσα παρήγγειλε τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τῆς μάρτυρος λυχναῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν, τὴν προσφορὰν δὲ τῷ 10 θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως προσκομισθῆναι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τοὺς κηροὺς 50 ἀνάψαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ. Πορευθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὰ διωρισμένα τελέεσαι τῷ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπιτετραμμένῳ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τὰ τοῦ θαύματος καθὼς παρηκολούθηκε διηγούντο. Δοξασάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀκουσάντων τὸν θεόν, λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ ναοῦ προεστὼς τὰς 15 γυναικας κάτεισιν εἰς τὸν τῆς μάρτυρος τάφον, εὐχαριστήσας τε σὺν αὐταῖς καὶ χρίσας ἑλαίῳ τὴν πάσχουσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λυχνίων ἀνῆλθεν αὐτὴς εἰς τὸν ναόν· καὶ τούτῳ κομισθῆναι ἐκκεκαυμένους αἰτήσας ἄνθρακας ἤρξατο κατακαίειν τὰ γοητεύματα. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θαῦμα τῷ θαύματι παρεπόμενον· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν 20 E γοητευμάτων τὸ πῦρ ἐδαπάνη, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῶν ἀφανῶν λυομένη δεσμῶν πρὸς ἔμφορνα τὴν κατάστασιν μετεβάλλετο, εὐχαριστοῦσα καὶ δοξάζουσα τὸν ῥυόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα κατατεφρωθέντα ἤδη πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἐχώρουν, κραυγαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηχούντο, χοιρείων ὥσπερ εἰ φωνῶν ὅταν τις ἀκούοι πολλῶν 25

PILSK

6 αὐτῇ ἐν Βλαχέρναις inv. P || 7 τε: δὲ ILSK || 10 τῷ τάφῳ P || 12 τὰ om. L || 17 ἐν αὐτῷ om. LSK || 21 καὶ om. P || 24 κραυγαῖς LSK || 25 ἀκούει P

¹² τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς κακίας: Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 10 (PG 35, 1180C); cf. Lampe, s.v. δημιουργός, A.1.

¹³ This magic procedure, a kind of *defixio* or κατάδεσις, can be paralleled with examples from Antiquity on, and from many parts of the world; cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1951), 194, with notes on p. 204 f. Especially well-known today is such 'homoeopathic' sorcery from the Voodoo religion of modern Haiti, but its 'simple psychological roots' (Dodds, loc. cit., note 92) are universal. The author of *VI* does not conceal a keen interest in the matter, and even the priest of St Anastasia knows how to deal with it (*infra*). Such ambivalent attitudes to un-orthodox activities are not surprising; cf. H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978), 268 f.

name of the author of the evil¹² and appellations of his servant demons.¹³ Thus they spent the rest of the night undoing the bundle and thanking the Mother of our God.

When morning came she entrusted candles and incense and the contrivances just mentioned to the two nuns who had been with her at Blachernai. Committing to them the sick girl she sent them to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia;¹⁴ giving them oblatory gifts and oil she asked them to put the oil in the lamps at the martyr's tomb, to have the oblatory gifts brought to God as thanksgiving through the priest, and to light the candles in the church. They went away, and after performing all according to the prescriptions they told the caretaker of the church and the clergy how the miracle had come about. All who heard it praised God, and the priest in charge of the church went down to the tomb of the martyr with the women. Praising God together with them and anointing the possessed nun with oil from the lamps there,¹⁵ he went up into the church again. Asking to have glowing charcoals brought to him, he began to burn the instruments of sorcery. Now one miracle could be seen following the other. As the fire consumed each of the instruments of the sorcery, so the woman was liberated from her invisible ties and restored to soundness of mind, thanking and praising him who had saved her. Reduced to ashes, all the objects were already disappearing into nothingness when screams resounded from the charcoals, like the squeals one may hear when swine¹⁶ are butchered in great numbers. This threw

¹⁴ I.e., the Church of St Anastasia *Pharmakolytria* near the portico of Dominus. As a kind of mental asylum, this church seems to have been especially popular in the 10th c. For the identification, see L. Rydén, 'A Note on Some References to the Church of St. Anastasia in Constantinople in the 10th Century', *Byz.* 44 (1974), 198–202; for some contemporary parallels to this text, see id., 'The Life of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St. Andreas Salos', *Okeanos. Essays presented to Thor Ševčenko* . . . = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), 568–586, esp. 581.

¹⁵ This usage is well known, e.g. for St Artemios (*MirArtem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 5,5 ff., 24,2 ff., 61,21 ff.); Sts Cyrus and John (*MirCyrlo*, VII 3 and XXXVI, ed. Fernández Marcos pp. 253 and 322 ff., respectively; cf. the editor's comment in his introduction, pp. 137–138); St Theodora of Thessalonica (*VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 30, ch. 50, end [Kurtz, 30,4 ff.], etc.; cf. E. Patlagean, 'Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IX^e–XX^e siècle)', in: *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale* [Rome, 1984], 39–67, esp. 46). Note, among later examples, *VAthanaion* B, ed. Noret 70,7 ff., 73,20 ff., 74,7 ff.; *MirEugen*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 48,11 ff., 93,6 ff.

¹⁶ Cf., e.g., *VASal*, PG 111, 717A (of demons), χοίρων γὰρ δίκην . . . θρηνοῦντες.

σφαττομένων· ὅπερ τοὺς παρευρεθέντας πάντας εἰς φόβον τε μέγαν ἐνήκε καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ φεύγειν παρεσκεύασε, μεγάλην εἶναι τῆς μάρτυρος τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀνακράζοντας. Τοιαῦτα θαυματουργεῖν οἶδε θεὸς δοξάζων τοὺς αὐτὸν δοξάζοντας. Αἱ μέντοι σταλεῖσαι παρὰ τῆς ὁσίας Εἰρήνης ἅμα τῇ τεθεραπευμένη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπανελθοῦσαι καὶ τὰ παρηκολουθηκότα ταῦτα θαυμάσια τῶν λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἐπήκοον ἀπαγγέλλουσαι, πρὸς περισσοτέραν ταύτας εὐχαριστίαν προθυμότερας διετίθεσαν· καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον μεγάλην ἑορτὴν τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐώρταζον ἀπολύτρωσιν.

- F 51 14. Κατάνυξις μὲν οὖν καὶ πάσας ἐντεῦθεν συνεῖχε τὰς ἀδελφὰς καὶ συνετήρει, πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ φόβον καὶ πόθον συνδέουσα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων τὴν ὁσίαν προέχουσιν καὶ πλείονα περικεχυμένην αὐτῇ καθορᾶν ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς προκοπὴν ἐν τῇ προκοπῇ τῆς ταπεινώσεως καταλαβόντες ὥρισαντο καὶ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐν ἐπίγνωσει ταπεινώσεως οἱ πατέρες καὶ πραότητος. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸ δάκρυον ὥσπερ τινὸς ἐκ πηγῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς ῥεῖθρον ἔβλυζεν ἀένναον, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς θείας ἱεουργίας, ὁπνίκα τὸν ἐπιφανέντα θεὸν προσάγων ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῇ ἱερᾷ τεθυμένον τραπέζῃ. Ἐννοουμένη γὰρ ὅπως ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀναφῆς καὶ ἀπερίληπτος ἢ ἀκατάληπτος οὐ μόνον σάρκα θνητὴν καὶ φθαρτὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας κατεδέξατο σωτηρίας ἐνδύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαγιασθῆναι, καὶ νεκρὸς πρόεισιν, εἰς τροφὴν ἡμῖν καὶ πόσιν τὸ ἄχραντον σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα ὃ ἐξέχεε προτιθέμενος, ἵνα τῷ ἀλήπτῳ διὰ τῶν ληπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψαυστῶν τῷ ἀναφῇ καὶ τῶν ὁρατῶν τῷ ἀοράτῳ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀνακραθῇ φύραμα καὶ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώσει δίκην πυρὸς πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεότητος μεταστοιχειωθῇ δόξαν τε καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον ζήσιν τὴν ἀκήρατον, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πίπτουσα διάβροχον ὅλον ἐποίει τὸ παρακείμενον ἔδαφος.
- 52 Αἰδουμένη δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κακοῦργος ἦπερ ἂν τις κλέπτων

PILSK

3—4 τοιαῦτα . . . δοξάζοντας om. L, lacuna trium litterarum indicata || 3 οἶδε: εἶδε SK || 8 τὴν om. L || 11 θεοῦ: θεὸν καὶ ILSK || 27 ἀκήρατον: add. καὶ P || 28 παρακείμενον om. P || 29 τοῦτο P || κακοῦργος post τις tr. P || ἂν om. P

4 δοξάζων . . . δοξάζοντας: cf. 1 Regn. 2,30

14. ¹ Bas. Caes., *De renuntiatione saeculi*, 10 (PG 31, 648AB).

all those present into great fear and made them flee from the church shouting, 'Great is the power of the martyr!' Such miracles God can work, He who *honours* them that *honour* Him. Those who had been sent out by the holy Irene along with the girl who was healed returned to her, and relating the miraculous events in the presence of the other sisters increased their zeal for still more abundant thanksgiving. Thus on the next day they celebrated the sister's deliverance with a great feast."

14. Irene's Compunction and Abundant Tears

Hereafter compunction held fast and controlled all the sisters, uniting them in fear of God and devotion to Him. But the Saint, as one could see, by far surpassed them and was immersed therein more deeply than they. In fact the Fathers¹ comprehended and defined the progress of the soul by progress of humility, and the recognition of piety by recognition of humility and meekness. Therefore the tears² gushed forth from her eyes like an ever-flowing stream from a spring, especially at the time of divine service, when the priest presented the manifest God offered on the holy table. Considering how the Invisible, the Impalpable,³ the Incomprehensible or Inconceivable One not only condescended to put on mortal and corruptible flesh for our salvation, but also to be sacrificed, and how He, being dead, proceeds, setting forth to us as food and drink the immaculate body and the venerable blood which He shed in order that the compound of which we are composed be mixed with the intangible through the tangible, with the impalpable through the palpable, with the invisible through the visible,⁴ and like fire be transformed into the nature of the glory and splendour of Divinity through the union with Him, and live the eternal, the undefiled life—, then she fell down on her face and made the whole floor beside her wet with tears.

Rather being ashamed of this, like a criminal who steals or commits

² Excessive shedding of tears was one of St Arsenios's gifts; cf. *ApophthPatr*, PG 65, 105CD, and see Speck's note on Theod. Stud., *Iamb* 82 (p. 237), with lit. On Byzantine attitudes to tears, see Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 62.

³ For the idea, cf. Grég. Naz., *Or.* 38, 2 (PG 36, 313B), ὁ λόγος παχύνεται, ὁ ἀόρατος ὁράται, ὁ ἀναφῆς ψηλαφᾶται, etc.

⁴ Similarly *VDemetr*, ed. Delehaye 300B, τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ νοουμένων καλῶς φυραθείσαν οὐσίαν. Cf. Lampe, s.v. φύραμα, 2.c.

B ἡ τι τῶν ἀτόπων ἐργαζόμενος, τοῖς ἱματίοις ἑαυτῆς ἀνιμωμένη τὴν ὑγρότητα διανίστατο· ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἦν εὐχερὲς αὐτῇ διηνεκῶς, τί μηχανᾶται; Λιθοζόον λάθρα μεταπεψαμένη λάκκον ὀρύξαι τούτῳ μικρὸν ὑπέδειξε παρὰ τὸν ἀφωρισμένον αὐτῇ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεῖους ὕμνους συνῆδεν ἐσιῶσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, καὶ 5 συμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ὀμφαλιδίῳ καλύψαι. Καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἱερουργίας ἐτίθει μὲν ἑαυτῆς τὸ πρόσωπον κατὰ γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμνίσκου, βραχίονι δὲ τοῦτον τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις περιτειχίζουσα, δακρυρροοῦσα οὐκ ἀνίστατο, μέχρις ἂν ὑπερβλύσας κατάφωρον αὐτὴν ἔμελλε ποιεῖν, ἢ τοῦ λανθάνειν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔμελλε. Καὶ διέμεινεν 10 ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἀλαλητὶ διηγούμενος.

53 15. Ὅσῃν δὲ καὶ κατὰ δαιμόνων αὐτῇ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ πατεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δωρησάμενος παρέσχετο, τὸ παρὸν ἱκανὸν παραστήσασθαι. Λύπην γὰρ αὐθις 15 ἐτέραν ὁ πονηρὸς ἐπενεγκεῖν πονηρευόμενος τῇ ὁσίᾳ, τὸν μισθοῦ τὸν τῆς μονῆς ἀμπελῶνα καλλιερгоῦντα, κείμενον ταύτης ἐχόμενα, νέον τε ὄντα καὶ δυσκάθεκτον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς — Νικόλαος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα —, πρὸς ἔρωτά τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ κεκίνηκεν ἀσκουμένων. Καὶ C δὴ νενικημένος ἤδη καὶ τῆς μυσαρᾶς ὅλος γενόμενος ἐπιθυμίας, 20 νύκτας ὅλας κύκλῳ τῆς μονῆς περιῶν, ὅθεν ἂν ἔνδον αὐτῆς γένοιτο καὶ τῇ ποθυμένῃ συγκαθευδήσοι, λίαν ἐπιμελεστάτην ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῇ. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ εἶα τοῦτον ἡρεμεῖν ὁ τῆς κακίας εὐρετής, μᾶ τῶν νυκτῶν σκοτόμαιναν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καταχέας, εἰσιέναι μὲν διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς μονῆς ἔπεισε νομίζειν, καὶ τοῦ κελλίου τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐντὸς γενόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύτης 25

PILSK

1 ἱματίοις ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς l. P || 2 ποιεῖν οὐκ ἦν: γινόμενον P || 4 ὑπέδειξε: ἐπέταξε P || 5 ἐσιῶσα συνῆδεν inv. P || 6 μετὰ: μεταξὺ P || 8 ἐπιτειχίζουσα P || 10 ἔμελλε: ἔμελλε codd. || 14 ἱκανῶς παραστήσεται P || 15 πονηρευόμενος: πειρώμενος P || 17 δὲ om. P || ὄνομα αὐτῷ inv. ILSK || 18 τινος om. ILSK || 21 συγκαθευδήσοι I

12—13 τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . τοῦ ἐχθροῦ: cf. Lc. 10,19

⁵ Cf. *VArsen*, ed. Cereteli 31,18—19, ῥάκος ὑπὲρ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ᾧ τὸ ἔξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀστακτὶ ῥέον ἀπέσμηχε δάκρυον.

⁶ According to Theodoret, *HRel*, II 7—8 (Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 212—214) the hermit Julian with his abundant tears caused a spring to rise in the desert, ἡ δὲ πηγὴ διέμεινε μέχρι καὶ νῦν (8,1). In *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28—29, chs. 47—48 (Kurtz, 28,7 ff.), the oil of a lamp at Theodora's tomb mystically regenerates, sometimes so copious-

an improper act, she wiped up the moisture with her clothes before standing up;⁵ but as this was not easy for her to do continuously, what did she contrive? Secretly sending for a stonemason she gave him a hint to cut out a small pit at the appointed place in which she used to stand singing the divine hymns together with the sisters, and conceal it with a cover of equal size. Hereafter, at the time of service she lowered her face to the earth above the reservoir. Making a wall around it with her two arms, the tears flowing, she did not rise until overflowing⁶ it was on the verge of betraying her, her to whom it was a major concern to escape notice. Telling its silent tale, the reservoir has remained until the present day.

15. The Possessed Vine-Dresser Nicholas

How great a power against demons He had given her, who let His disciples tread on all the power of the enemy, the following episode will suffice to demonstrate. The Fiend, in his malice preparing still another affliction for the Saint, instilled love for one of the nuns of the convent into the man who was paid to look after its vine-yard, which was situated close by. He was a young man with unruly instincts¹ who was called Nicholas. Already conquered and wholly a victim of his abominable desire, he walked about the convent for whole nights, doing his utmost in order to enter it and sleep with the one he coveted. As the inventor of the evil would by no means leave him in peace, he one night shed darkness over his eyes and made him believe that he went in through the gateway of the convent, entered the cell of the beloved girl, lay down on her bed, embraced her

ly that a vessel has to be put below to collect it; this lamp μέχρι τῆς σήμερον διαρκεῖ καιομένη . . . καὶ πυκνῶς ἀναβλυστάνουσα . . . ἵνα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀλαλήτῳ φωνῇ κηρύττῃ τὸ ἔλαιον, ὅποιον αὐτῆς τὸ συμπαθὲς πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας. Cf. also *VAthanAthos* B, ed. Noret 41,47—49 (of Athanasios weeping in a πτυστήριον), τοσαῦτα κατέχευεν . . . δάκρυα, ὥς καὶ λιμνάζεσθαι τὸ δακρυοδόχον ἀγγεῖον. — Water regenerating in a spring and even oil in a burning lamp are no far-fetched ideas. But what about tears in an artificial pit in the floor? It would, however, be difficult to dispose of the tears since this would leave us with a 'silent tale' told by a pit that is empty. The adaptation of an old literary motif to a new milieu was not wholly successful here. — On ἕως τῆς σήμερον and the like, cf. A. Kazhdan in *Byz*, 54 (1984), 186 f.: such phrases imply a relatively short distance between the narrator and the event and refer to existing objects and conditions. As far as the pit in the church-floor is concerned, this may of course be the case here. — On ὀμφαλιδίον, cf. Greek Index, s.v.

15. ¹ νέον . . . ὁρμαῖς: cf. Greg.Naz., *Or.* 43, 15 (PG 36, 513D).

ἀνακεκλίσθαι κλινιδίου περιπλακῆναί τε καὶ τὰ καταθύμια ποιεῖν.
 54 Ἐν ὧσιν δὲ ταῦτα πληροῦν ᾤετο, εἰς γῆν τε κατερράγη καὶ
 κυλιόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφρόν τοῦ στόματος ἀπέπτυνε καὶ τὰ τῶν
 δαιμονιζομένων ἔπασχεν ἅπαντα. Συνηγμένων οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν
 γειτονούντων, οἵα δὲ ταῖς τούτου θορυβηθέντων κραυγαῖς, γενομένης
 δὲ καὶ πρωΐας καὶ τοῦ τῆς μονῆς διανοιγέντος πυλῶνος, τὸ συμβάν
 ἢ θυρωρὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδοῦσα περιπαθῶς ἀπαγγέλλει τῇ ὁσίᾳ· ἡ δὲ
 ἀκούσασα τὸ κακόν, ὅθεν ἂν ἔφυ τῷ τῆς διανοίας θεοφεγγεῖ διηρεῦνα
 βλέμματι, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιγνοῦσα, δακρύσασα τῆς καθέδρας
 ἀνέθορε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑψοῦ διάρασσας φησὶν· Ἐὐλογητὸς κύριος, ὃς
 οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡμᾶς εἰς θήραν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τοῦ πονηροῦ. Ἀποστέλλει
 γοῦν αὐτίκα τοῦτον εἰς τὸν τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας ναόν·
 622D ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διακονουμένων ἀλύσει καὶ
 πέδαις καταδεσμευθεὶς συνείχετο καρτερεῖν τὴν ἴασιν.
 Ὡς δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἡμέραι διήλθον καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν,
 ἡθύμει ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡ μακαρία Εἰρήνη καὶ τῇ μάρτυρί πως ἦν
 55 ἐνοχλοῦσα· ἐκείνη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὄναρ ἐπιφανεῖσα φησὶ· Πειράζουσα
 πάντως ἡμᾶς ἄρα τὸν δαιμονῶντα παρέπεμψας ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὴ
 φιλότατη; Ἀλλ' ἴσθι, τῆς θεραπείας οὐκ ἄλλως εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ τεύχεται·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄγνοοῦμεν τὴν παρὰ σοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τεθησαυρισμένην ἰσχύν·
 20 Καταλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀδημονοῦσα καὶ περίλυπος διῆγε τὴν
 θαυματουργίαν εὐλαβουμένη, ὅθεν καὶ μεταστεῖλασθαι τοῦτον
 ἀποκνέουσα ἦν· μανθάνουσα δὲ πάλιν τὴν πιέζουσαν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκην,
 πέμψασα δεδεμένον ἦγαγε ταῖς ἀλύσει καὶ προσέταξεν ἀποδεθῆναι
 τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ κίωνων ἐνὶ τῆς μονῆς. Δισκοπεῖτο δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῇ, πῶς
 25 ἂν διαλάβοι τοῦτον ἰασαμένη. Εἰ γὰρ ταχινὴ τούτῳ γένηται, φησὶ,
 ἡθεραπεία, γνώσονται πάντες καὶ οὐκέτι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνενόχλητα
 Ε ἔσεται· διὸ τὴν ἴασιν δέον ἡμᾶς μέσῳ μετελθεῖν, ἵν' οὕτω τάς τε τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ὀχλήσεις ἀποκρουσώμεθα καὶ τῷ πάσχοντι θεὸς παράσχη
 τὴν λύτρωσιν. Ἦρξατο γοῦν καθημερινὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ
 30

PIV(inc. mutil. a [εὐλα]βουμένη lin. 22)LSK

20 οὐδὲ: οὐ P || 23 ἀποκνέουσα: ὀκνοῦσα P || 29 παράσχοι ILSK (V non leg.)

10—11 εὐλογητὸς . . . τοῖς ὁδοῦσι: Ps. 123(124),6 || 13—14 ἀλύσει . . .
 καταδεσμευθεὶς: cf. Lc. 8,29

² On attitudes to sexual fantasies in dreams and nightly pollutions, see G. Dagron, 'Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines', in: *I sogni nel medioevo. Seminario internazionale Roma, 2—4 ottobre 1983*. A cura di T. Gregory (Rome, 1985), 37—55, esp. 45 f.

and did what he desired.²

While in his imagination he achieved this he was hurled to the ground. Rolling on the earth and foaming at the mouth he suffered all the anguish of demoniacs. The neighbours, naturally alarmed by his screams, gathered at this sight. In the morning, when the gateway of the convent was opened, the door-keeper saw with her own eyes what had happened and reported it eagerly to the holy woman. Having heard about the disaster, she inquired with the divinely enlightened eye of her spirit into its origin. Realizing the cause she sprang up from her seat in tears, raising her hands high, and said, '*Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to the teeth of the Evil One.*' Then she immediately sent him away to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia, and there he was kept to await the cure, bound *with chains and in fetters* by those attending on such people.³

Many days passed by but he obtained no cure. As the blessed Irene was impatient hereat and somehow importuned the martyr, the latter appeared in a dream and said to her, 'Surely, dearest sister, it was in order to try me that you sent me the demoniac? Then you should know: he shall not obtain the cure save through you. I am not ignorant of the power deposited by God as a treasure in you.' When day came she was worried and grieved in reverent fear of the miracle-working; therefore she even shrank from sending for the man. But when she learnt again about the affliction that oppressed him, she summoned him and had him brought, bound in his fetters, and commanded that he be tied to one of the columns of the convent church. For herself she considered how she could escape notice in curing him. 'If he get a rapid cure', she thought, 'all will know, and my situation will no longer be undisturbed. Therefore I must proceed with moderation about the cure, so as to ward off annoyances from people while letting God deliver the possessed man.' So she began to make daily prayers for him together with the sisters, in order that a gradual pro-

³ Cf. note 13 on ch. 13, *supra*. — When considered insane by his master, the young Andreas Salos was afforded the same treatment in the same church; *VASal*, PG 111, 640A. To bind the mentally disturbed (and the epileptics, who could hardly be distinguished from them) was not regarded as inhumane, even when it was not necessary for practical reasons (to prevent an aggressive patient from injuring other people, etc.). This is clear both from VI here and from the passage of *VASal* just referred to; the initiative to Andreas's treatment is taken by his master who is very fond of him and leaves a considerable sum of money for his care. The real object of the binding is however not the patient but his demon; cf. *infra*, 70,22 f., 'Ὡς δὲ τῶν κατεχόντων οὐκ ἀνείτο δεσμῶν, κτλ. (in lines 25 ff. the demon speaks of his victim, through the mouth of the latter, in the third person); 72,14.

τῶν ἀδελφῶν δεήσεις, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον λάθοι τοῦτον ἰασαμένη.

Καὶ δὴ ποτε τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐπιτελουμένης μυσταγωγίας, ἐν τῷ τὰ ἁγία πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν διαβιβάζεσθαι τράπεζαν, ἄφνω σκιρτήσας ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν χειρῶν κατέχουσιν αὐτὸν διαρρήξας ἄλυσιν, ὥρμησε βρύχων κατὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ τοῦτον χανῶν 5 διαμασήσασθαι τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν εἰς φόβον καὶ ἀγωνίαν ἐνέβαλεν.

- 56 Ἀνθορμήσασα δὲ τὸ τάχος ἡ ὁσία ἐπετίμησέ τε τούτῳ ἐμβριμωμένη, καὶ μηκέτι προβῆναι κελεύσασα ἀκίνητον ἔστησε καὶ ὑπότρομον· μικρὸν δὲ τοῦ τρόμου ἀνεθείς — ὦ τῆς ἀκαταλήπτου σου, Χριστέ, 10 δυνάμεως — βιάζων ἦν ἑαυτὸν σφόδρα μεταστῆναι καὶ οὐκ ἡδύνατο, σειραῖς ἀφανέσι καὶ πολλῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀλύσεων ἰσχυροτέραις τῷ προστάγματι τῆς ὁσίας κεκρατημένος. Τελειωθείσης δὲ τῆς λειτουργίας μόνη τῷ ναῷ ἐναπομείνας ἐρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ 15 ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεῖσα ἀνέστη μὲν τῆς προσευχῆς, ἔστη δὲ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ μυσσαροῦ πνεύματος καὶ φησὶν· Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σοὶ λέγω 20 τῷ πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ πνεύματι, εἰπέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐτόλμησας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσμα, καὶ τίς σε ἀπέσταλκε. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν μετástασιν ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν ὕβρεσιν ὥς τῶν δεσμῶν ἡμύνετο πρόξενον, 'νυκτοφάγον' καὶ 'ξύλοποδα' καὶ 25 δαμάζουσιν' καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγον ληρωδήματα. Ὡς δὲ τῶν κατεχόντων οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δεσμῶν, ὡμολόγει καὶ ἄκον ἅπαντα, καὶ Ἐἴ μὴ με', φησὶν, ὁ κύκλω σου παρεμβάλων ἐμάστιζεν ἄγγελος, οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεώς σε ἠξίωσα ἄν. Λέγω σοι δὲ ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον 30 ἀποστερήσας ἑαυτὸν διετέλεσε καὶ τῆς συνάξεως καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας· ὥς δὲ καὶ μιᾶς ἡράσθη διακαῶς τῶν σῶν μαθητριῶν, ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ πληρῶσαι τούτῳ τὴν ἔφεσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σὲ εὗρισκον ἐμποδὼν μοι γινομένην, κατανοήσας αὐτὸν παντός με κενὸν τοῦ κωλύοντος εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἐνῶκησα. Σὺ δὲ τίνας ἔνεκεν 30

PIVLSK

1 λάθη P || 15 μυσσαροῦ: πονηροῦ P || 17 πνεύματι om. P || 18 τίς: εἴ τις VLSK || 21 σιδηροκαρδίαν I || 24 παρεμβάλλων P || 28 ἐγὼ om. ILSK (V non leg.)

16 Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι etc.: cf. Lc. 10,17 || 24 ὁ κύκλω . . . ἄγγελος: cf. Ps. 33(34),8

⁴ What is the point of νυκτοφάγος? Since the target of the following mockeries is Irene's ascetic prowess (cf. note 2 on ch. 11, *supra*), it would seem natural to take νυκτοφάγος as deriding her eating habits during the fasting periods; cf. *supra*, 18,26 (very little food,

cedure should conceal the fact that she had healed him.

Now, once when the holy service was in progress and the sacraments were being carried over to the holy table, the man suddenly sprang up. Breaking the chains which bound him at the throat and the hands, he rushed against the priest, gnashing his teeth, and struck fear and anxiety into him as he gaped to bite him. Rapidly moving towards him, the holy woman censured him with rebuking words. Commanding him to advance no further she made him stand still and quivering. When he had relaxed somewhat from his quivering—incomprehensible is Thy power, Christ!—, he struggled hard to escape, but could not, restrained, at the Saint's command, with invisible ropes much stronger than the perceptible fetters. When service was at an end she remained alone in the church. She threw herself to the floor, and after beseeching God with tears for a long time she stood up from the prayer, rose on to question the abominable spirit and said, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I say to you, evil and unclean spirit, tell me the cause why you have dared to enter into this creature of God, and tell me who sent you.' At first he strove to escape and ward off the holy woman with insults as being the cause of his fetters, calling her 'night-eater',⁴ 'wooden leg', 'insatiable stander', 'iron-hearted', 'subduer of stones' and such frivolous names. But as he was not released from the fetters binding him, he agreed, though unwillingly, to all and said, 'Unless the angel encamping round about you was flogging me, I would not even deem you worth an answer. But now I tell you, the man has already for a long time detached himself from service and communion. As he also fell passionately in love with one of your disciples, this was reported to the Prince⁵ and I was sent to satisfy his desire. When I found you becoming an obstacle to me, I observed that he was devoid of all that could hinder me, so I entered and made him my dwelling-place. But you, why do you injure me, chasing me from my

καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐσπέραν), 54,22 f. (just some fruit τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν). Nightly activities are apt to cause suspicion, as shown by a satirical pamphlet of the 14th c. which refers to a conspirator called Markos as Νυκτίβιος συμποσίαρχος; see H. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische „Mafia"', *RESEE*, 7 (1969), 95—107, esp. 96, l. 18 (cf. H.-V. Beyer, 'Personale Ermittlungen zu einem spätbyzantinischen Pamphlet', *Bυζάντιος. Festschr. für H. Hunger* . . . [Vienna, 1984], 13—26, esp. 17 f.). But the context of eating may add a comic effect as in the compound νυκτιλαθραιοφάγος found in an ancient epigram (cf. LSJ, s.v.), and probably in this passage.

⁵ Cf. B. Rubin, 'Der Fürst der Dämonen', *BZ*, 44 (1951), 469—481, esp. 475—478.

ἀδικεῖς με διώκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου;’ ‘Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἔφης ἄρχων;’ ἤρετο ἡ ὁσία. ‘Τάχα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμπαίζεις μοι’, ἀπεκρίνατο, ‘ἂ μὴ ἀγνοεῖς ἐρωτῶσά με; τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ἢ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν οἷος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τὰς μεγάλας ἀριστείας αὐτοῦ τίς ἀγνοεῖ; Ὁ τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῇ σοφιστικῇ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐκβαλὼν 5
623A καὶ φθαρτὸν αὐτίκα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ θνητὸν ἀναδείξας — τί οὖν, οὐ
58 μέγα σοι τοῦτο δοκεῖ; Ἡ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἀλληλοφονίας, τὰς εἰδωλολατρείας, τὸ γλυκὺ δέλεαρ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὴν παρατροπὴν τῆς συνουσίας, τίς ὁ κατασκευακῶς πλὴν ἐκείνου; Ἀλλὰ τοὺς φόνους τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένων 10
τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις καὶ τὰ σχίσματα τίς ἤρτυσε, τίς τετέλεκεν; Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τίς ἀνεσκόλοπισεν; Ἀλλ’ ἔλαθεν ἡμᾶς καὶ παρεσφάλημεν σφάλμα μεῖζον πάντων σφαλμάτων· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνῆρέθη, οὐκ ἂν με σὺ τοιαῦτα νυνὶ δεσμὰ περιβαλοῦσα 15
διέπαιζες ὡς ἀνδράποδον ἐτάζουσα. Τοῦ τηλικούτου γὰρ καὶ τοσοῦτου τῇ ἰσχυρί δεθέντος περιφρονούμεθα καὶ διαγελῶμεθα παρ’ ὑμῶν, ὡς εἶγε ἦν ἀπολελυμένος, τίς ἡμῶν ἡδύνατο τῇ δυνάμει ἀντιστῆναι; ‘Τί δέ ἐστι’, φησὶν ἡ ἀγία, ‘τὸ ταύτην ὑμῖν ἐμποιῶν τὴν 20
B ἀδυναμίαν;’ Ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις, εἶπε, ‘μόνοις γὰρ ὑμῖν κατηλλάγη θεός, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτῳ ἐχθροί· ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς κἂν ἀνθρώπος ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα ποιήσας θεός. Ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναιρεθῆναι πεπείκαμεν τοὺς ἀνελόντας Ἰουδαίους, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ 25
χριομένοις οὐ τολμῶμεν προσεγγίσει· τίς γὰρ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ 59 δημιουργῷ αὐτοῦ δύναται; Ἀργοὶ δὲ καθῆσθαι οὐ δυνάμεθα· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀργόν, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. Καλὸν δὲ ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἅτε 25
δὴ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παντελῶς ἔρημοι μετουσίας, πονούμεθα, ἀσχολούμεθα καὶ σπουδάζομεν περὶ ταῦτα τὰ τρία· ἢ τοὺς καταλλαγέντας ἀφιστᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους σκευῇ ποιεῖσθαι πάλιν ἡμέτερα, ἢ τοὺς πάντη κενοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ὄρᾳς, ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι.’ ‘Καὶ ποῖον ὑμῖν 30
ἐκ τούτου τὸ κέρδος,’ ἤρετο πάλιν ἡ ὁσία, ‘ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια;’ ‘Καὶ

PIVLSK

3 ἀγνοεῖς: ἀγνοοῦσα IVLSK || γὰρ om. L || ἢ τίς: τίς δὲ P || 6 οὖν: γοῦν P || 7 ἢ: καὶ IVLSK || ἀλληλοφονίας IL || 14 δεσμὰ: δεσμά με VLSK || 16 τὴν ἰσχύιν P || 31 τὸ om. VLSK

9—10 τοὺς . . . προφητῶν: cf. Mt. 23,30—31; Lc. 13,34; Rom. 11,3 (3 Regn. 19,10, 14) || 19—20 κατηλλάγη . . . ἐχθροί: cf. Rom. 5,10

house?’ ‘Who’, asked the holy woman, ‘is that “Prince” you mentioned?’ ‘You mock me, it would seem’, he answered, ‘asking me something you are not ignorant of. For who has not heard, who does not know what kind he is? Who is ignorant of his great prowess? He who in his ingenious inventiveness and pride drove Adam out of Paradise and at once showed the first man to be destructible and mortal. Why, does this not seem great to you? And the internecine slaughters after that, the idolatries, the sweet incitement of lust,⁶ the aberrations of sexuality, who but him prepared them? The murders of the prophets and of all the others who paid honour to God’s name, and the heresies and schisms, who arranged them, who accomplished them? And Jesus himself, who crucified him? But he escaped us and we were deceived through the greatest of all deceptions. For if he had not been executed, you would not now have laid these fetters on me and mocked me, questioning me like a slave. You despise us and laugh at us only because there has been bound one so great and so strong that if he were set free, nobody would be able to withstand our power.’ ‘What is it’, said the Saint, ‘that produces this powerlessness in you?’ ‘God’s power’, he said, ‘for only with you has God been reconciled, whereas we are enemies to him. Even if Jesus is a man, he is still the God who has made all. Ever since we persuaded his murderers, the Jews, to kill him, we do not dare to approach those anointed with his blood. For who can stand against his creator? We cannot sit idle, for nothing that God has made is idle. But unable to do good, because completely devoid of participation in the good, we toil and are busy and eager about three things: either to make the reconciled revolt against God, or again to make those who revolt into our own instruments or, as you can see, to appropriate to ourselves, as our dwellings, those who are wholly destitute of communion with the good.’ ‘What gain do you have from this’, asked the holy woman again, ‘or what advantage?’

⁶ On this old theme, see M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse, Traité de la virginité. Introduction, texte critique, trad., comm. et index* (Paris, 1966), 506, note 3.

μικρόν σοι τοῦτο φαίνεται, τὸ πολλούς', φησίν, 'ἔχειν κοινωνούς, νῦν μὲν τῆς ἐκπτώσεως, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μελλουσῶν κολάσεων;'

60 'Εφ' ᾧ περ ἀλγήσασα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περιδακρυς γενομένη ἐπετίμησέ τε σφοδρότερον ἢ ὅσια καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πόρρω γενέσθαι τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῆς προσέταξε· σπαράξαν δὲ καὶ 5
C καταρράξαν τοῦτον εἰς γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Δούσα δὲ χεῖρα κειμένῳ ἀνέστησέ τε αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον τῷ μετώπῳ ποιήσασα τούτου ἐκάθισε· καὶ νουθεσίαις αὐτὸν ἐπεστήριξε καὶ παρήγγειλε τῆς ἀπλήστου βρώσεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ κόρον οἰνοποσίας ἀπέχεσθαι, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσεδρεύειν, διηνεκῶς προσεύχεσθαι καὶ 10
οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου· καὶ 'Τοῖς ἐρωτῶσί σε', φησί, "'Τίς ὁ ἰασάμενος;'" "'Ὁ θεός'", ἀποκρίνεσθαι, "'ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῶν ἀρχιστρατήγων Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριήλ"'· Καὶ οὕτως ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν εὐχαριστοῦντα καὶ δοξάζοντα τὸν θεόν.

16. Ὡς περ δὲ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀδιαλείπτως ὑπὲρ πάντων προσῆγε 15
61 τῷ θεῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ταύτην ἐπλήρου, τῆς συνήθους στάσεως ἔχομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀεὶ σχετικῶς διακειμένη. Νίπτουσα γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐκμάττουσά τε καθαρωτάτῳ ἐκμαγεῖω, ἐπεὶ καὶ λεκάνην ὕδατος τῷ ἑαυτῆς διὰ τοῦτο κειμένην εἶχε κοιτῶνι, οὕτω τοὺς βραχίονας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείνουσα 20
τῆς προσευχῆς ἀπήρχετο. Καὶ παρέτεινε τὴν στάσιν ποτὲ μὲν πανημέριον, ποτὲ δὲ παννύχιον ἢ καὶ νυχθημερεύουσιν, πολλάκις καὶ δισημερεύουσιν καὶ τὴν τρίτην πληροῦσαν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἵστατο μὴ τι τῶν ὑποστηρίζοντων ἐρειδομένη. Διὸ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἡνίκα κατενεγκεῖν ἔδει, οὐκ εἶχε τοὺς 25
βραχίονας ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς συστῆλαι, τῶν ἀγκῶνων καὶ τῶν ὤμων τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ἀνατάσεως καὶ τῷ μήκει τῆς ἐκτάσεως πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν 624D ἀνθισταμένων κλίσιν. Προσφωνοῦσα δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ταῖς οἰκειοτέραις βοήθειαις ἐτύγγανε, καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν τοὺς ἄρμους φοβερόν τινα κρότον ἐκφέροντας. 30

PIVLSK

7 τῷ κειμένῳ K || 8 νουθεσίαις; νουθεσίας ἀξιώσασα P || ἐπεστήριξε VLSK || 12 ἀποκρίνασθαι VLSK || 18 τε: δὲ I || 23 δὲ ὅτε ILSK (V non leg.) || 25 εἶχε: ἡδύνατο μόνῃ P || 26 ἑαυτὴν P || 27 ἀναστάσεως L || καὶ ... ἐκτάσεως om. L

⁷ Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 24, 10 (PG 35, 1180C), αἱ ἀποστατικά δυνάμεις καὶ φθονεραί, πολλοὺς κοινωνοὺς ζητοῦσαι τοῦ πτώματος; cf. also id., *Or.* 43, 48 (PG 36, 560A), in a dialogue between St Basil and a *hyparchos*, τί δέ; Οὐ μέγα σοι τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν τετάχθαι καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς;

'Does it seem a petty thing to you', he said, 'to have many companions, now in our fall,⁷ hereafter in the future punishments?'

Grieving at this in her soul and full of tears the holy woman censured him harshly and commanded him to go out of the man and betake himself far away from her boundaries. Then he left the man, convulsing him and hurling him to the ground. Giving him a hand as he lay there Irene raised him up, and making the sign of the cross on his forehead she made him sit. She supported him with admonitions and exhorted him to abstain from insatiable eating and from drinking wine to surfeit, to attend church, to pray continuously and thus to evade the ambushes of the Devil, and she said, 'Those who ask you, Who has healed you? you shall answer, God, through the intercession of the archistrateges Michael and Gabriel.' Thus she let him go, and he thanked and glorified God.

16. Irene's Continued Asceticism and Levitation The Bowing Cypress

As she incessantly offered thanks to God for everything, so for this too did she perform them, clinging to her usual standing exercises and always affectionately disposed towards them. After washing her hands and face¹ and wiping them off with a clean towel—to this end she had a basin of water standing in her chamber—, she stretched her arms to heaven and began the prayer. She extended her exercises to last now for a whole day, now for a whole night or even for a day and a night. Often they were protracted over two or three days, and it even occurred that she remained standing for a whole week without leaning against any support. Therefore, when she was to lower her hands, she was unable to draw her arms together by herself, since the elbows and the shoulders, in consequence of the severe stretching and the prolonged extension, resisted their natural flexibility. Calling for those among the sisters that were closest to her she received help, and one could hear the joints emit a terrible cracking.²

16. ¹ Irene cleans her hands and face before stretching them to heaven. The motivation for this may be derived from a thought expressed in the following way by Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 4,8—16, κάτω βλέπε ὡς κατακεκρήμενος . . . καὶ τὰς χεῖρας σου συνεσταλμένας ἔχε· ταύτας ἀναιδῶς πρὸς θεὸν μὴ ἐκτείνης, ἅς πολλάκις ἠπλώσας εἰς ἁμαρτίαν. Cf. also Lampe, s.v. νίπτω, I.A.4.b.

² Somewhat similar effects of extreme asceticism are reported, e.g., for Abraames by

E 62 Παρ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα τεσσαρακονθήμερον νηστείαν οὐτ' ἄρτου οὐθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ὧσου μετελάμβανε πρὸς βρῶσιν πλὴν μόνου μέλιτι μεμιγμένου σπέρματος κανάβεως καὶ ὀλίγων ὀπωρῶν, καὶ τούτων ἅπαξ τῆς ἐβδομάδος, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἡμερῶν καὶ ὕδατος βραχυτάτου· ἐξ ὧν δέρμα μόνον τοῖς ὀστέοις 5 προσπεφυκὸς τὸ πάναγνον ἐκείνης καθωρᾶτο σῶμα. Κὰν ταῖς ἐορταῖς δὲ ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς ἄϋπνος διετέλει κατὰ μόνας ψάλλουσα· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ προαύλιον περὶ μέσας ἐξιούσα νύκτας, ὄμματα καὶ χεῖρας πρὸς θεὸν αἵρουσα τὰς προσευχὰς ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν κύκλον τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάλλος ὀρῶσα 10 καὶ μέγεθος, καὶ τερπομένη καὶ χαίρουσα καὶ τὸν ἐκτείνοντα μεγαλύνουσα. Καὶ ποτε — κατὰ θεῖαν πάντως οἰκονομίαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ θαῦμα κρυπτόμενον μείνῃ — προκύψασαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν μίαν, οὕτω συμβάν, τῆς ἰδίας κέλλης ἰδεῖν αὐτὴν τὰς χεῖρας μὲν ἄνω πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐκτεταμένας ἔχουσας, κρεμαμένην δὲ τῆς γῆς ὥσει πῆχεις 15 δύο καὶ προσευχομένην ἄεριον· εἶτα κύψασαν καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν προσκύνῃσιν ἀπονέμουςαν, τὰς ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ προαυλίου δύο κυπαρίσσους ἐστηκυίας, εὐμεγέθεις καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀναβεηκυίας μέρος, ἡρέμα πῶς συσσειομένας, ὑποκυπτούσας τε 20 καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὰς κεφαλὰς μέχρι γῆς τιθείσας καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἔγερσιν προσδεχομένας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὁσίας ἐγνηγεμένης, μὴ πρότερον ἀνατεῖναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν τὰ δένδρα κεφαλὰς, ἕως ἐλθοῦσαν ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τούτων κορυφὴν τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλεῖν, καὶ οὕτως οἰονεῖ εὐλογηθέντα πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὖθις ἀποκαταστῆναι 25 στάσιν.

PIVLSK

11 ἐκτείναντα P || 12 δράμα φοβερόν in marg. P || 15 ἐντεταμένας S || fort. suppl. (ἀπὸ) τῆς γῆς || 22 ἐλθούσης P

11 τὸν ἐκτείνοντα: cf. Ps. 103(104), 2 et sim. locc.

Theodoret, *HRel*, XVII 2, 3—6 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, p. 34), τοσαύτη γὰρ αὐτὸν φασιν οἱ συγγεγονότες ἀγρυπνία καὶ στάσει καὶ νηστεία καταδαμάσαι τὸ σῶμα ὥς ἀκίνητον ἐπὶ πλείστον διαμῖναι χρόνον, ἥκιστα βαδίζειν δυνάμενον. A development of the motif is found in *VEuprax*, 731E, [her asceticism made her so stiff that] οὐδὲ χεῖρα ἡδυνήθησαν διπλῶσαι αὐτῆς οὐδὲ πόδα, ἀλλ' ἔκειτο ὅλη ὥς ξύλον ἄφωνον. But in our passage the elaboration of the theme borders on the grotesque.

³ Nothing here suggests any knowledge of cannabis as a narcotic drug (cf. the effects of cannabis-seed used in vapour-baths by the Scythians according to Herodotos, IV 75). Irene's mixture is hardly less innocent than, say, those cakes consisting of various kinds of nuts

During all the forty days of fast before Easter she took neither bread nor any other food save cannabis-seed³ mixed with honey and a little fruit, and that once a week, sometimes, at intervals of several days, also a minimal quantity of water. As a consequence her all-holy body appeared as mere skin clinging to the bones. At the Dominical feasts she continuously kept awake, singing psalms in solitude. Often she also went out into the forecourt of the church at midnight, and raising eyes and hands towards God offered prayers, gazing at the sphere of the stars and the beauty and greatness of the firmament, delighted and rejoicing and praising Him who *stretches it out*. Once—surely by divine dispensation, lest the miracle should remain hidden—one of the sisters happened to peep out of her cell just to behold Irene hanging in the air about two cubits above the ground and praying with her hands extended towards heaven.⁴ Two lofty cypresses were standing on either side of the forecourt, reaching far up into the air. As Irene bent forward and prostrated herself before God, they trembled gently together and bowed their crowns to the ground along with her, waiting for her to rise. But even when the holy woman stood upright, the trees did not raise their crowns until approaching she made the sign of the cross on each of them; then, as if blessed, they returned to their erect position.⁵

and seed mixed with honey (so-called παστέλι) which are widely sold as sweets in modern Greece. I have seen no other examples of cannabis-seed used as ascetic food (normally κάνναβις and related words refer to hemp fibre). That it was used as food may be inferred, however, from an anonymous text περὶ χυμῶν, βρωμάτων καὶ πομάτων (cf. J.A.M. Sonderkamp, 'Theophanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *DOP*, 38 [1984], 29—41, esp. 31), of which ch. 43, περὶ καναβοκόκκου, reads (ed. Ideler, 272), Δύσπεπτον καὶ κακοστόμαχόν ἐστι, καὶ κεφαλαγὲς τε καὶ κακόχυμον θερμαίνει δὲ ἱκανῶς; and, later, from an interpolation in the Ptochoprodromic poem *To the Emperor* (edd. Hesseling & Pernot, 78, app. crit., 129j), παστελλοπούλης, καρυδᾶς, κανναβοσησαμᾶτος (. . . ἂν ἤμουν).

⁴ Among similar cases of levitation, cf. *Vloann* a. Saba, ed. Van den Gheyn 352BC, ὁ Εὐστράτιος βλέπει αὐτὸν μακρόθεν ἐκτεταμμένον εἰς προσευχὴν, καὶ . . . ἄχρι δύο πηχῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα κρεμάμενον; further *VEustr*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 389, 2—4; *VASal*, PG 111, 712D. — The parallels, as well as some examples of demonic levitation in *VTheodSyc* collected by Festugière in his commentary on ch. 46, 15 of that text (vol. 2, 202), seem to indicate that the bare genitive τῆς γῆς here, in itself curious enough, should be complemented; cf. app. crit.

⁵ This scene has a less elaborate counterpart in *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye 892, 30—33 (on the *koimêsis*): when the Virgin went up to the Mount of Olives to pray, something wonderful happened, κλίνουσι γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄρος φυτὰ πρὸς γῆν ἑαυτά, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔμψυχα δοῦλα τὸ προσήκον σέβας τῇ δεσποίνῃ ἀποπληροῦσι.

Ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν τῆς θεᾶς ἐπιτυχοῦσαν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ συσχεθεῖσαν
 διαλογισμοῖς τεταράχθαι, μὴ καὶ φάντασμα ἢ τὰ βλεπόμενα· τριῶν
 γὰρ ἢ καὶ πλεον διελθεῖν ὥρων διάστημα τούτων ὑπενόει γινομένων.
 Ὅμως πιστωθῆναι θέλουσα τὸ τῆς ὁσίας κατασκοπῆσαι κελλίον
 ἔδραμεν, καὶ μὴ εὐροῦσα ταύτην ὑπέστρεψε καταλαβοῦσα τὴν
 εἴσοδον ἄρτι ποιουμένην ἐκ τοῦ προαυλίου. Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐδεδίει
 τὸ μυστήριον ἐκκαλύψαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετ' οὗ πολὺ ταῖς κορυφαῖς
 τούτων τῶν κυπαρισσῶν ἀπηωρημένα σηρικῶν ἐξ ὑφασμάτων
 ἐγχειρίδια ὥρωντο, θαυμασίαν οἶαν τὴν τέρψιν τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχοντα
 — ἅπερ ἐκεῖνη πάντως ταῖς πανάγνοις χερσὶν αὐτῆς προσέδθησεν, ὥς
 10 πολλάκις καὶ ὡσαύτως ὑποκεκλιμένας ἔχουσα τὰς τούτων κεφαλὰς
 — ἑτέρα τε τὴν ἑτέραν διηρώτων αἱ ἀδελφαί, 'Τίς ὁ ταῦτα', λέγουσαι,
 625A 64 'προσδῆσας καὶ τὸ δυσανάβατον ὕψος ἀναβεβηκέναι δυνηθεῖς', εἶτα
 δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν αὐτὴν, ὥς ἂν ἀγνοοῦση μετὰ θαύματος ταῦτα
 δακτύλοις δεικνῦσαι, ἐπηρώτων. Ἡ μὲν τοιαύτην ἐδίδου τὴν
 ἀπόκρισιν· 'Ἱερά τις', φησί, 'τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα, τέκνα μου, νομίσας,
 εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀνήρτησε τὰ ὑφάσματα.' Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θαύματος αὐτόπτις
 γενομένη, προφάσεως ἐντεῦθεν λαβομένη, πάντα κατὰ μέρος ὅσα
 τεθέαται ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς διηγήσατο. Ἀκούσασαι δὲ ταῦτα, φόβου καὶ
 20 χαρᾶς πλησθεῖσαι τὰς ψυχὰς, δάκρυά τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπέσταζον
 καὶ αὐτῇ διεμέμφοντο, ὅτου χάριν μὴ καὶ ταύτας διῶπνισε καὶ
 κοινωνοὺς τῶν φοβερῶν ἐκάλεσε γενέσθαι θαμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα
 ὅτι καὶ τριῶν ὥρων παρεληλυθέναι διεβεβαιοῦτο καιρόν. Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ
 δὲ διαδοθὲν ἤδη τὸ μυστήριον ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν γνοῦσα, τὴν
 κατατυχοῦσαν ἢ ὁσία τοῖς τοιούτοις θαυμασίοις ἰδίᾳ καλέσασα,
 25 δριμύτερόν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνιδούσα φησὶν· 'Ἀρά γε καὶ σφάλλουσιν
 εἴπερ κατεῖδες ὥς ἄνθρωπον, οὕτως ἂν ταχέως τὸ ἡμέτερον
 ἐθριάμβευσας τραῦμα;' Ἡ δὲ ὅπως οὐ διέλαθεν ἐκπλαγεῖσα, τοῖς
 ποσὶν εὐθέως προσπεσοῦσα τῆς ὁσίας ἔμφοβος καὶ ἔντρομος ἦται τὴν
 B συγχώρησιν· παραντίκα δὲ καὶ τυχοῦσα παραγγελίαν ἐδέξατο, μὴ ἂν
 30 ἄλλο τί ποτε τοιοῦτον ἐκκαλύψαι πρὸς τινα τὸ παράπαν. Ὡσαύτως

PIVLSK

8 κυπαρισσῶν P || 9 ἑωρώντο P || 10 αὐτῆς scripsi: αὐτῇ IVLSK om. P ||
 10—11 ὥς . . . κεφαλὰς om. P || 12 τε τὴν ἑτέραν: μὲν ἄλλην P || 14 δὲ om.
 P || ἂν ἀγνοοῦση: ἀγνοοῦσαν P || 15 δακτύλοις δεικνῦσαι: δεικνῦσαι τοῖς
 δακτύλοις P || ἢ: καὶ ἢ P || 18 προφάσεως . . . λαβομένη om. P || 20
 ὀφθαλμῶν: ὀμμάτων VLSK || 29 τὴν om. P || 31 ἄλλο τί: ἄλλοτε PIVL (K
 legere nequeo)

At this the nun who had witnessed the scene was beset by fear and
 anguish and disturbed by evil thoughts, lest the sight be a phantom; for
 she surmised that the event had extended over three hours' time or even
 more. Seeking confirmation, however, she ran to inspect the cell of the
 Saint, and not finding her there returned and met her as she was just enter-
 ing from the forecourt. For the moment she feared to reveal the secret.
 But after a short time kerchiefs of silk-web⁶ were seen hanging in the
 crowns of the cypresses, bringing amazing delight to the spectators—
 surely Irene had fastened them with her all-holy hands, as the tree-tops
 often thus bowed before her. Then the sisters asked one another saying,
 'Who has been able to climb the insurmountably high trees and attach
 the webs to them?' Thereafter they asked the holy woman herself, in
 amazement pointing to the kerchiefs as if she were ignorant, and she gave
 the following answer: 'Someone who considered these trees sacred, my
 children, has suspended the webs to God's glory.' Taking this as a pretext,
 the nun who had been eyewitness of the miracle told the sisters in detail
 all she had seen. On hearing this, distilling tears from their eyes as their
 souls were filled with fear and joy, they reproached her for not rousing
 them and calling them to join her in the awe-inspiring sight, particularly
 since she maintained that a span of three hours had elapsed. Learning,
 meanwhile, that the secret had already spread to the ears of the sisters,
 the holy woman called aside the nun who had perceived the miracle and
 said with a sharp glance at her, 'If you had observed me committing a
 sin, a human being as I am, would you then too have blazed my defeat
 abroad so rapidly?' Astonished that she had not escaped notice she fell
 at the Saint's feet at once and, afraid and trembling, asked forgiveness.
 She obtained it straightway and received an instruction never to reveal
 anything of the kind to anyone whatever. Likewise Irene assembled the

⁶ In the first place these textile objects serve as proof that the cypresses have been
 involved in a miracle. When the nuns have seen them, they need not doubt that the story
 told by the eyewitness (cf. *infra*) is true. However, the term ἐγχειρίδιον may have been
 chosen for its liturgical connotations. In a pseudo-Sophronian text of the 12th c. (cited
 by Lampe, s.v.) this poorly attested word is used as synonymous with ὠράριον (or ὀθόνη),
 i.e., the narrow strip of silk worn over the left shoulder by an officiating deacon (see
 Lampe, s.v.). This would suggest the idea that Irene performs a nocturnal liturgy
 wonderfully assisted by the two trees. — For garments in a tree (in different context),
 cf. *TrAthanasia*, ed. Talbot 72,1—2, with the editor's comm. on p. 130.

δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συναγαγοῦσα πάσαις ἐνετείλατο μηδὲν περὶ αὐτῆς
μέγα λέγειν μηδαμῶς, 'ἕως ἂν με', φησί, 'κύριος τοῦ παρόντος
μεταστήσει βίου'. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα δι' αὐτῆς θεὸς ἐπετέλει
θαυμάσια, καὶ πάντα σιωπῇ καλύπτεσθαι τό γε νῦν ἔχον ἐβούλετο.

65 17. Ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου μνήμην ἐορτάσασαν, μετὰ 5
τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ὑπέμνησεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὡς εἶη τῆς γῆς ποθεν μὴς
ἀνίων καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τράπεζαν περιερχόμενος, καὶ
δεῖ τῷ μυσαρῷ κώλυμα γενέσθαι τοῦ μηκέτι μολύνειν τὸν τόπον τὸν
ἅγιον. Γενομένη δὲ περίλυπος, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὁ τε ἱερεὺς αἱ τε πᾶσαι
ἀδελφαί, ὁ μὲν ἰδίᾳ, αἱ δὲ κοινῇ, τῆς ἐορτῆς χάριν αὐτάρκτη τὴν 10
ἐστίασιν ἐποιοῦντο, τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτῆς ἔνδον ἐκείνη καὶ περὶ τούτου
τῷ θεῷ ἐντυγχάνουσα ἦν. 'Ὁ δὲ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἐστιαθέντες ἤδη
τῷ θεῷ προσέφερον ἅμα, τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελουμένην καλέσασα
λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· "Ἀπελθε καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
νεκρωμένον κείμενον μὴν ἀραμένη ἔξω που ῥίψον ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας." 15
'Ὁ τοσοῦτῳ δὲ συνεισῆι καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς προσευξόμενος, καὶ νεκρὸν
ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ὄντα τὸν μὴν θεασάμενος, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ὁσίας
C προστάγματι ἐξῆι βοῶν ὡς· 'Θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις
αὐτοῦ'.

66 18. Κατὰ γοῦν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα περὶ πού τετάρτην φυλακὴν τῆς 20
νυκτὸς φωνή τις ἀοράτως ἐγένετο τῇ ὁσίᾳ λέγουσα· 'Τὸν τὰς ὁπώρας
σοι κομίζοντα σήμερον ναύκληρον ὑπόδεξαι χαίρουσα, καὶ φάγεσαι
καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου.' Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὀρθρινὴν δοξολογίαν
δυσὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσκαρτερεῖν τῷ τῆς μονῆς προσέταξε πυλῶνι,
καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ καταλαβόντι, ὅστις ἂν καὶ εἶη, τῆς εἰσόδου 25
παραχωρῆσαι προθύμως. 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ', φησί, 'μικρὸν ὅσον ἔξιμι
πρὸς ὑμᾶς.' Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπιούσης εἴσεισι καὶ ὁ προσδοκώμενος, καὶ
συνήντησαν ἀλλήλοις. Ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὴν προεστῶσαν μαθῶν,
βαλεῖν ὥρμησε μετάνοιαν καὶ προέλαβε τοῦτον ἐκείνη· καὶ
ἀναστάντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐβάδιζον, εἰσελθόντες δὲ καὶ 30

PIVLSK

5 δὲ: γὰρ IVLSK || 7 θεοῦ om. L || 9 αἱ τε πᾶσαι: καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ P || 11
καὶ om. P || 11—12 τῷ θεῷ περὶ τούτου inv. P || 13 ἐπιμελουμένην P (V legere
nequeo) || 16 προσευξάμενος P || 17 αὐτὸν om. P || 18 ὡς om. P ||
23 δὲ: γοῦν IVLSK

18—19 θαυμαστὸς . . . αὐτοῦ: Ps. 67(68),36 || 20—21 τετάρτην . . . νυκτὸς: cf.
Mt. 14,25

other nuns and commanded them all in no wise to speak highly of her,
until the Lord (as she said) would remove her from this life. In fact God
performed many other wonderful deeds through her, and she wished
them all to be veiled in silence for the time being.

17. The Mouse on the Altar

Once when she had celebrated the memory of Basil the Great, the priest
told her after the divine liturgy that a mouse had come up from some-
where in the ground and circled about the table of the divine sanctuary.
Now the loathsome creature had to be prevented from defiling the
hallowed place again. She was deeply grieved, and while the priest and
all the sisters, the former for himself, the latter together, had a satisfying
meal for the sake of the festival, she supplicated God about this inside
her chamber. After the meal, when they offered thanks to God together,
she summoned the overseer of the church¹ and said to her, 'Go and take
up the mouse which lies dead before the entrance to the sanctuary and
throw it out on the dunghill.' Meanwhile the priest had joined them to
pray, and since he had seen that very mouse dead, he was amazed at the
holy woman's command and went out crying, 'Wonderful is God in his
saints!'

18. The Apples from Paradise

About the fourth watch of that night a voice invisibly reached the Saint
saying, 'Receive gladly the skipper who will bring you fruit today. You
shall eat and your soul shall rejoice.' After the morning doxology she bade
two of the sisters to wait at the gateway of the convent and readily to admit
the first comer, whoever it be. 'However', she continued, 'I will myself
come out to you for a short while.' And behold, as she was going the ex-
pected man entered and they met. On learning that she was the abbess
he hastened to make obeisance, but she anticipated him, and they stood
up and went to the church. They entered and after a prayer sat down,

17. ¹ Conceivably, this vague term refers to the monastic office of ἐκκλησιάρχισσα, the function of which is defined, e.g., in the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Theotokos *Kecharitōmenē*, ch. 20 (Miklosich-Müller, 5, 350). Cf. P. de Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Rome, 1942), 408.

προσευξάμενοι ἐκαθέστησαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ὁσία 'Πόθεν σου',
 φησί, 'πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡ ἀγάπη ταπεινῶσιν ἡκει;' Καὶ ὃς
 ἀπεκρίνατο· 'Θαλασσοπόρος εἰμί, κυρία μου, τῆς νήσου Πάτμου
 καλουμένης οἰκῆτωρ· ὥς δὲ τὴν ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πλοῦς εἰσέλευσιν
 ἐποιούμην, γενόμενός τε περὶ τὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς νήσου ἀοίκητον
 μέρος, εἶδον ὠραιότατον γέροντα καὶ θεοειδῆ ἀναμένειν ἡμῖν
 626D κελεύοντα. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλοῖον ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος οὐκ εἶα στῆναι φορά,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ τόπου κρημνώδους ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐστὼς
 ἐπέταττεν, οὐκ εἶχομεν ὅπως τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ πληρῶσαι
 προσταττόμενον· εἰδὼς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον,
 10 γεγωνοτέρᾳ φωνῇ στῆναι τὸ πλοῖον ἐπετίμησε. Καὶ εὐθέως ἔστη μὴ
 προβαίνειν ὅλως δυνάμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ δέους πλήρεις γενόμενοι πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἠτενίζομεν· καὶ ἰδοὺ πεζεύων κατὰ τῶν κυμάτων ἡγγισεν ἡμῖν.
 'Εκβαλὼν δὲ τρία μῆλα ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου εἰς χεῖράς μοι ἔδωκεν εἰπὼν·
 "Διασωθεῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδι πόλιν διακόμισον τῷ πατριάρχῃ
 15 'Ιγνατίῳ καὶ ἔρεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν· Ταῦτά σοι ἀπέστειλεν ὁ μένων." Εἶτα
 πάλιν βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐξήνεγκεν ἕτερα τρία παραπλήσια φήσας·
 "Καὶ ταῦτα πάρασχε Εἰρήνῃ τῇ ἡγουμένῃ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ
 Χρυσοβαλάντου καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῇ· Φάγε ἀφ' ὧν ἡ καλή σου ψυχὴ
 ἐπεθύμησεν· ἄρτι γὰρ ἦκω κομίζων ὑμῖν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ
 20 τοιαῦτα." Εὐλόγησας δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀπέλυσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἐν
 εὐχαΐς. Καὶ νῦν πληρώσας τῷ πατριάρχῃ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον, ἦλθον καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀγιότητα τὸ προσταχθέν μοι τελειῶν· Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα
 ἡ ὁσία καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων ὑποπλησθεῖσα, τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ
 ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ μαθητῇ πολλὴν ἀπεδίδου τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.
 25 'Εκβαλὼν οὖν ὁ ναύκληρος τὰ τρία μῆλα ὑφάσματι κεκαλυμμένα
 ἐντίμῳ καὶ νήματι χρυσέῳ περινηθισμένῳ δέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
 αὐτῆς· ὧν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν;
 'Εκεῖθεν γὰρ εἴλκον τὸ γένος, ὅθεν ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐξώρισται καὶ ἃ
 30 φθαρτὸς γενόμενος οὐκ εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός. 'Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν πολλῆς

PIVLSK

5 γενόμενός τε: γενόμενος P || 8 τε: add. δὲ IVLSK || 9 πληρῶσαι: πληρώσομεν
 P || 14 ἐκ om. P || 16 πρὸς αὐτόν: αὐτῷ P || 23 μοι om. P || 30 εἶδεν:
 οἶδεν VLSK

3—4 τῆς νήσου . . . καλουμένης: Apoc. 1,9 || 13 πεζεύων . . . κυμάτων: cf. Mt.
 14,24—25 || 16 ὁ μένων: cf. Io. 21,22 || 19—20 φάγε . . . ἐπεθύμησεν: cf. Eccl.
 6,2 || 24—25 τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ . . . μαθητῇ: cf. Io. 13,23 et sim. locc.

then the Saint said to him, 'Whence, Your Charity, do you come to me,
 humble woman?' He answered, 'Mistress, I am a seafaring inhabitant of
the isle that is called Patmos. When in the course of my voyage here I
 approached the uninhabited part of our island, I caught sight of a
 beautiful and godlike old man who ordered us to stop. As the rush of the
 wind, however, did not allow the ship to halt, the more so as the place
 from which he gave this command was rocky, we had no means of obeying
 his behest. Realizing himself how helpless we were, he bade the ship in
 a loud voice to halt, and so it did at once, wholly unable to advance.¹
 Full of fear hereat we gazed at him; and behold, he approached us *walking*
on the waves! He produced three apples out of the fold of his garment,
 gave them into my hands and said, "When you are safe in the Imperial
 City, carry them to the Patriarch Ignatios and say to him, He who tarries
 has sent you these." Then again he let down his hand and brought forth
 another three similar apples, saying, "Give these to Irene, the abbess of
 the Convent of Chrysobalanton, and say to her, Eat of that which your
 good soul has desired, for that is what I have now come to bring you from
 Paradise." Praising God, he dismissed us and our ship with prayers. Now
 that I have fulfilled what was due to the patriarch, I have come to Your
 Holiness to accomplish the command given to me.' When she heard this,
 her eyes filling with tears, the holy woman returned great thanks to God
 and to the disciple whom He loved. Producing the three apples, which
 were covered in a precious cloth decorated with flowers of golden thread,
 he gave them into her hands. Their beauty and size and fragrance—why,
 needless to speak thereof! For they drew their origin from that place
 whence our kind is banished and which no mortal eye has seen. The man

18. ¹ This miracle varies rather originally a theme appearing in several texts, e.g. the
 hagiographic romance *VTheoctistLesb*, ed. Delehaye 230DE, and the legendary
VPetrAthon, ed. Lake 26, top, and 33—34. Cf. D. Papachryssanthou, 'La Vie ancienne
 du saint Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique', *AnalBoll*, 92 (1974),
 19—61, esp. 43.

παρ'αυτῆς τιμῆς καὶ δεξιώσεως ἀξιωθείς, συνταξάμενος αὐτῇ ἀνεχώρησεν.

- 68 Ἐκεῖνη δὲ ὅλην ἡμερῶν ἑβδομάδα νηστεύσασα, ὁλόκληρον τὸ ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἐδώδην ἐποίησατο, καὶ διήρκησεν εἰς ὅλας ἡμέρας 5
 τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ τῆς βρώσεως ἰσχυρὶ τοῦ μήλου, μήτε τροφῆς
 F ἐτέρας μήτε πόσεως δεηθεῖσα τὸ σύνολον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ πάσης
 θυμηδίας ἐμπιπλώσα τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς
 ὁσφρήσεις εὐωδία· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἦν ἀναδιδομένη καὶ τοσαύτη, ὥς
 νομίζειν θυμιαμάτων τινῶν καὶ μύρων πολυτίμων συνθέσεις γίνεσθαι
 καὶ κατασκευὰς καθ'ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ μονῇ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα 10
 καταχρῶνυσθαι ταῖς ἡδυπνόοις ὁσμαῖς. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῆς τοῦ
 θεοῦ πάσχα μεγάλης καταλαβούσης ἑβδομάδος καὶ τῆς ἁγίας
 πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐφροσυνίας προσέταξε πάσαις ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς
 μεταλαβεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, καθ'ἣν δηλαδὴ τοῖς 15
 μαθηταῖς συνεστιαθεῖς καὶ τῆς ψυχοτρόφου παρέδωκε τὸν τύπον ὁ
 κύριος τραπέζης. Καὶ κατατεμοῦσα μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν τὸ ἕτερον
 μῆλον διένειμεν αὐταῖς οὐκ εἰδυῖαις, τί ἄρα καὶ εἶπεν τὸ ἐσθιόμενον·
 τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἐν αἰσθήσει γενόμεναί τινος ὑπερφυοῦς χαρᾶς καὶ
 εὐφροσύνης ἐξεπλήττοντο. Τὸ δ' ἄλλο φυλακτῆριον ἑαυτῇ διετήρησε
 συνεχῶς ὁσφραινομένη καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαλλιάσεως μὴ λειπομένη. 20

- 69 19. Καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκεῖνη, καθ'ἣν καὶ τὰ ἄχραντα πάθη τοῦ λυτρωτοῦ
 καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ παρὰ πᾶσι πιστοῖς ὑμνολογεῖται, πολλῶν ἑώρα

PVLSK

8 ὁσφρήσεις ante τῇ (lin. 7) tr. P || τοιαύτην P || τοσαύτην P || 11 ὁσμαῖς
 1 || 12 μεγάλης om. P || 12—13 ἁγίας πέμπτης ἡμέρας: μεγάλης πέμπτης P
 || 14 δηλαδὴ: δηλονότι P || 18 τοῦτο . . . αἰσθήσει: ἐν αἰσθήσει δὲ μόνον P
 || 20 μὴ λειπομένη: αἰετίνον P

² In *HMonAeg*, VIII 40 (ed. Festugière p. 62 f.) we are told that Apollō, while celebrating Easter in a mountain cave together with five disciples, was visited at night by some unknown men bringing various kinds of fruit as well as honey, milk, and bread from Paradise to the monks, who happened to lack food. This, and the similar story in Cyril of Skythopolis's *VtoSab* (ed. Schwartz 211, 1—14), develop the motif of a miraculous food supply, which certainly reflects a major material problem for the Desert Fathers; see, e.g., *HMonAeg*, II 9, VIII 6, XII 14 and 15 (ed. cit., p. 37 f., 48 f., and 96 f., respectively). A more formalized story in Theodore, *HRel*, VI 12 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 1, 362) relates how Symeon the Old meditated at the Sinai until after a week of total fasting he heard a heavenly voice telling him to partake of the food served before him, ἐκτείνας δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τρία μῆλα εὐρῶν καὶ τούτων ἐμφορηθεῖς ὥς ὁ δεδωκὼς παρηγγύησεν, ἰσχυὸς τε γέγονεν ἀπάσης ἀνάπλεως καὶ μετὰ θυμηδίας τοὺς συνόντας, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡσπάσατο. Sometimes the supernatural fruit (not necessarily apples) appears in connection with a visit to, not from, Paradise. This is the case with Paternouthios who is said to have visited Paradise,

was treated with much honour and hospitality by her, then bid her farewell and left.

And she, after fasting for a whole week, made the whole of one apple her food. Its nourishing power permitted her to endure for forty whole days without any other food or drink whatever; nay, with the fragrance of her mouth she rather even saturated the sisters' sense of smell with full delight.² For such was its quality and intensity as it was exhaled, that one believed that mixtures and preparations of incenses and precious perfumes were being made in the convent every day, so as to tinge the air with their sweet smells. Hereafter, when the Great Week of Divine Easter came and the Holy Thursday was at hand, she commanded all the sisters to partake of the sacraments that evening in which truly the Lord, having supper with His disciples, handed down the model of the soul-sustaining table.³ After Communion she cut the second apple and distributed it among them. They did not know what their food was; they were merely amazed at the sensation of a marvellous delight and mirth. The third apple she kept for herself as an amulet, continuously smelling it and never lacking the joy it afforded.

19. Irene's Future Fame Predicted

On that night when the undefiled Passion of the Redeemer and Lord Jesus is celebrated in hymns among all faithful, she saw,¹ as in trance, a great

tasted its fruit, and brought back to the world a big fig which healed all the sick who smelled it (*HMonAeg*, X 21—22; ed. cit., p. 84); and the cook Euphrosynos, who according to *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 658 ff. (cf. *SynaxCP*, 34, 59 ff.) was spiritually moved to Paradise together with his abbot. As the latter was unable to have a taste of its fruit, the cook gave him three apples which the abbot found in his hands when he woke up from his vision (on this episode, see H. Grégoire in *Byz*, 5 [1929—30], 412 f.; his reference for Paternouthios should now be updated as above). The formulaic use of three apples in some of these stories is apparently a secondary feature, helping to give formal stability to a literary convention which had lost the contact with its original milieu. — The symbolic potential of apples has been variously exploited in literary contexts, but their role in the passages quoted here has not attracted much attention; cf. the lit. cited by L. Breyer in his translation of the *Vita Basilii* (*Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron* [Graz/Wien/Köln, 1981]), 25, note 7.

³ τῆς ψυχοτρόφου . . . τραπέζης: the phrase is also found, e.g., in *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 893A.

19. ¹ The following vision reflects the liturgy for consecration of a church, more especially of its altar; cf. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, ed. P. N. Trempelas, vol. 2 (Athens, 1955), 103 ff. Preparations are made by the youths in white who in accordance with the liturgy be-

λευχειμονούντων πληθύν ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει γεγωνυῖα, περικυκλούντων
 τὰς ἀδελφὰς ᾄδούσας, οἱ καὶ κιθάρας χερσὶ κατέχοντες ὕμνους τινὰς
 μελωδεῖν ἀνεκκλήτους ἐδόκουν τῷ Χριστῷ ἑναρμονίως, νεανίας
 ὄντας πάντας καὶ φωτοειδεῖς· εἶτα καὶ φιάλας φέροντας μύρων τῇ
 τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ταύτας ἀποκενοῦν τραπέζῃ, καὶ ἡ εὐωδία 5
 ἀσύγκριτος καὶ τὸ πᾶν πληροῦσα. Καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἄνδρα τινά,
 λευχεύοντα καὶ τοῦτον, ὡραῖον, εὐμεγέθη, λάμποντα τὸ πρόσωπον
 ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ὃ καὶ πολλὴν προσῆγον τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μετ'εὐλαβείας τὴν
 ὑπάντησιν ἐποιούντο· καὶ αὐτὸς σινδόνα τοῦτοις πανευπρεπῇ καὶ
 627A οἶον βασιλικὴν παρέσχετο τὰ κενωθέντα μύρα τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ λίαν 10
 ἀκριβέστατα τε κατακαλύψαι καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸν τῷ
 θυσιαστηρίῳ προσκαρτεροῦντα τεθεαμένον ἄγγελον ἐν κατηφείᾳ
 μεγάλη πρὸς τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀνακεκραγῆναι βοῇ· “Ἐως πότε, κύριε;
 70 Καὶ φωνὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσαν· “Ἐως ἂν ἤξη ὁ δεῦτερος
 Σολομὼν καὶ τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω καὶ τὰ κάτω τοῖς ἄνω γένηται 15
 συμμιγῇ· τότε καὶ ὁ κύριος ὑψωθήσεται ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὸ τῆς
 αὐτοῦ θεραπαίνης μεγαλυνθήσεται μνημόσυνον.” Καὶ εὐθὺς
 ὑποφωνήσασαν τῶν λευχειμονούντων τὴν πληθύν· “Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις
 θεῷ”, πρὸς οὐρανούς ἀναπτῆναι. Ταῦτα δὲ μεθ'ἡμέρας στρέφουσα
 κατὰ νοῦν ἡ ὁσία, τοῦτο συνιέναι νενόμικε, τὸ μήτε ταύτην 20
 δοξασθήσεσθαι πρὸς γε τὸ παρόν, μήτε τὴν μονὴν αὐτὴν καὶ
 μεταστάσης αὐτῆς, ἕως ἂν αἱ μαθητευθεῖσαι ταύτῃ τῷ βίῳ περιῶσιν·
 ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔλεγε, τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν αἰτησαμένη πρὸ ὀλίγου, τὴν τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων πάντως ἐκκλίνουσα τιμὴν καὶ τὴν παρὰ θεοῦ ζητοῦσα
 B μόνην. Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὑπετίθει, φεύγειν αἰεὶ τὰς ἐξ 25
 ἀνθρώπων διδάσκουσα τιμάς· “Οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατόν”, φησί, “τὴν μὴ τὰς
 τοιαύτας ἀποστρεφόμενῃν ψυχὴν τὴν δόξαν ἰδεῖν ποτε τοῦ θεοῦ.”

PIVLSK

3 νεανίας: νέους P || 14 ἤξει P ἤξει I || 18 λευχειμόνων IVLSK || 19
 δὲ om. P || 20—21 ταύτην . . . μήτε om. P

7—8 λάμποντα . . . ἥλιος: cf. Mt. 17,2 || 13 ἕως πότε et 16 τότε . . . ὑψωθήσεται:
 cf. Ps. 12(13),2—3; Is. 2,11 et 17 || 18—19 δόξα . . . θεῷ: Lc. 2,14 || 23—26
 τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . τιμάς: cf. Io. 5,41 et 44

sprinkle the altar with *myron* and cover it with a silk-cloth (cf. text. cit., 138—139). For some
 reason the ceremony begun cannot be fulfilled (this explains the dejection of the angel in the
 sanctuary), but it will be, according to the heavenly voice, when the second Solomon comes.
 The foundation of the Temple of Jerusalem by Solomon is the Old Testament model

throng in white clothing surrounding the singing sisters. Holding lyres in
 their hands they seemed harmoniously to sing ineffable hymns to Christ,
 all being youths of luminous appearance. Then they brought bowls of
 fragrant oil which they emptied on the table of the sanctuary. The
 fragrance was incomparable and everything was imbued with it. After a
 short while she saw a man, he too in white clothes, beautiful, tall, *his face*
shining as the sun, whom they showed great honour and met with
 reverence. He gave them gorgeous and, as it were, royal silk to cover ac-
 curately and safely the oil emptied on the holy table. On seeing this, the
 angel waiting in the sanctuary cried aloud in deep dejection to the tall
 man, ‘*How long, O Lord?*’ And a voice was heard saying to him, ‘Till
 the second Solomon shall come and the heavenly and the earthly worlds
 shall intermingle. Then *the Lord shall be exalted* in this place and His ser-
 vant’s memory shall be magnified.’ At once the throng in white clothing
 seemed to answer, ‘*Glorify to God in the highest*’, and fly up to heaven.
 Turning this over in her mind during the day, the holy woman interpreted
 it thus: neither was she to be glorified in the present age nor, even after
 her death, was the convent itself, as long as her disciples remained in life.
 In fact she had, as she said, prayed to God for this shortly before, trying
 wholly to evade honour from men and seeking that which *comes from*
God only. This was also her advice to the sisters, as she taught them
 always to shun honour from men, saying, ‘It is impossible for a soul not
 avoiding such honour ever to see the glory of God.’

constantly referred to in this context (text. cit., 107,2, 108,12, 133,6), so the ‘second
 Solomon’ here is most probably the re-founder of the church, who in future will make
 it possible to proceed with the interrupted ceremony. The church is of course that of St
 Gabriel of Chrysobalanton, for the luminous youths appear together with Irene’s own
 nuns. With the help of the author’s own explanation (II. 20—22), the vision can be
 interpreted thus: After Irene’s death she and her convent will fall into oblivion for a certain
 period of time. Then there will appear a new founder who will restore the convent to
 its former glory and also give the forgotten Irene her deserved place among the saints.
 — The author did not bother to explain the obvious weak point in this, namely, how
 it was possible to write Irene’s Life when nobody remembered her and written documents
 apparently did not exist. — For τὰ ἄνω . . . γένηται συμμιγῇ (I. 15 f.), cf. text. cit.,
 108,1, ‘Ὡς τοῦ ἄνω στερεώματος τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, καὶ τὴν κάτω συναπέδειξας
 ὁμοιότητα, κτλ. This unification of the terrestrial and celestial worlds is brought about
 by the consecration; cf. *ibid.*, 110,1—2, σήμερον τῆς ἀπροσίτου δόξης σου ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις
 τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς παγέντα σοι ναόν, οὐρανὸν κατεσκεύασεν. For the thought, cf. *VPetrAtr*,
 ed. Laurent 85,6, (θεὸς ὁ . . .) ἐνώσας τοῖς οὐρανίοις τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ μίαν ποιμένην
 κατασκεύασας ἀμφότερα.

20. Εὔχασθαι δέ τις αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας αἰτήσασα γνώμης ἀπλότῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συγκαλεσαμένη καὶ πάσας εἶπε· 'Πιστεύσατέ μοι, τέκνα, παρρησίας εἴ τινας ἔτυχον πρὸς θεόν, τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἂν ᾔτησα, τὸ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ὑγείᾳ σωματικῇ παρ' ὅλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν χρόνον μηδεμίαν ὑμῶν διατελέσαι· οἶδα 5 γάρ, ἀκριβῶς οἶδα, ὅτι τοῦ σώματος κάμνοντος πολλή τις ὠφέλεια προσγίνεται τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς χάριν διὰ τοῦτο τῷ κηδεμόνι τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὁμολογοῦσι θεῷ.'

- C 71 21. "Ἐν ἔτι τῶν ἐκείνης θαυμασίων προστεθείσθω τῇ διηγήσει, τῆς πρὸς θεὸν αὐτῆς ἐγγύτητος καὶ παρρησίας μαρτύριον ἐναργές. 10 Φθόνῳ τινὲς κινούμενοι, οἷα πολλὰ τοῖς ἐπτοημένοις περὶ τὰ παρόντα ποιεῖν ὁ πονηρὸς ὑποτίθησι, διαβάλλουσι πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν ἐγγύθεν τῇ ὁσίᾳ καὶ φιλουμένων αὐτῇ συγγενῶν τινα, τῇ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων ἀξία τετιμημένον καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ κατὰ κόσμον λαμπρὸν περιφανείᾳ. Καὶ τὸ τῆς διαβολῆς οὐ μικρόν· 'Τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἅπαντα', φησί, 'καὶ 15 μελετῶν ἔστι κατὰ τοῦ σου καὶ κατασκευάζων κράτους.' 'Ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐρωτήσεως κἂν γοῦν ψιλῆς περὶ τοσούτου καὶ ταῦτα πράγματος ἀνασχόμενος, συλληφθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα προστάξας ἐν τινι τοῦ παλατίου ζοφῶδει κατέκλεισε φυλακῇ, μηδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδότα τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τῷ ἄνδρι προσήκοντες 20 628D διαψιθυριζόμενόν πως περὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἡκηκόεισαν τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐναπορριφῆναι τοῦτον βυθῷ διασκοπεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτί, ὥς ἂν μηδὲ ταφῆς αὐτοῦ τύχοι τὸ σῶμα, 72 25 μηδενὶ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τούτου γνωσθείσης ἀπωλείας, πάντων ἀπογνόντες πρὸς τὴν πολλὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἔχουσιν τὴν παρρησίαν καταφεύγουσιν Εἰρήνην, δάκρυα τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον

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2 τῶν . . . πάσας: πάσας συγκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἀδελφὰς P || 13 συγγενῶν τινα: συγγενῇ IVLSK || 17 γοῦν om. P || 23 τύχη I || 26 τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον om. P

20. ¹ For this idea in general, cf. Theodoret, *HRel*, XXXI 14,6—8 (edd. Canivet & Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2, p. 294, with note 1). There it is stated that illness is no evil thing, a simple negation of the traditional view. Here its positive benefits are emphasized, as, e.g., in *VLuclun*, Suppl., ed. Martini 106,11—13, τὸ νοσεῖν . . . γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς ἔστι καιριώτατον, ὥστε πρὸς τὸ ἐθέλειν εἶναι μοναχὸν ἀληθῆ πλεῖστα συνεισφέρει καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν.

21. ¹ *Illoüstrios* was the highest of the titles which gave access to the senate; see R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1967), 67. When the Goube-

20. Illness Better than Health

When one of the sisters in the simplicity of her mind asked Irene to pray for health of body, she called them all together and said, 'Believe me, children, if I possessed any candour before God, I would first of all pray that none of you should pass one single day of your entire lifetime in corporeal health. For I know, I know very well that when the body is ill, the soul will benefit greatly,¹ especially for such as offer thanks for this to God, the Guardian of our souls.'

21. The Liberation of Irene's Imprisoned Kinsman

One more of her wonderful deeds should be added to the narrative, a clear proof of her proximity to God and her freedom of speech before Him. Driven by envy some people slandered one of the holy woman's beloved close relatives before the Emperor, an act such as the Evil One often will induce those passionate about mundane things to commit. It was a man honoured with the dignity of *illoüstrios*¹ and distinguished with other worldly prominence. The slander was of no petty purport for it said, 'He is plotting and preparing against Your Majesty all that traitors are wont to do.' The Emperor did not even tolerate a simple question, and that about such an important issue, but ordered the man to be arrested and confined him to a dark dungeon in the palace, leaving him ignorant even of the cause of the Emperor's wrath. When the man's family heard a rumour whispered around the Imperial Palace that the Emperor was planning to have him thrown into the depth of the sea—not at daytime but at night, so that his body would not even be buried, since none of his relatives would learn in what way he had died²—, then they surrendered all hope and sought refuge with Irene with her great candour before God.

rioi are introduced (*supra*, 10,24 ff.), they are said to be senators and patricians. Patrician dignity was open to all *illoüstrioι* (see Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 294—295), thus it would seem somewhat awkward to call a man *illoüstrios* if he was a patrician as well. But since this man is said to have paid honour to Irene's memory 'during the whole of his life' (*infra*, 110,25 ff.), he must be considered much younger than Irene herself (dead at 97), so he is probably not meant to be included among the Gouberioi present at her arrival in Constantinople.

² The part. γνωσθείσης logically belongs to τρόπου, not to the subordinate noun ἀπωλείας. The text need hardly be changed.

κενουῦντες τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ βοηθῆσαι ταῖς εὐπροσδέκτοις εὐχαῖς
τῷ συγγενεῖ ἀδίκως κινδυνεύοντι παρακαλοῦντες αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ — καὶ
τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποίησε πρὸς ταῦτα ψυχὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιланθρωπιαν
ἐξησκημένη καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τῆς ἀγάπης νόμον καλῶς ἀποπληροῦν
ἐπισταμένη; — σφόδρα περίλυπος γενομένη, στενάξασά τε βαρὺ καὶ 5
δακρύσασα τούτους μὲν ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν οἴκαδε καὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν.
‘Ἀλλ’ ἐλπίσωμεν’, φησὶν, ‘ἐπὶ κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσει.’ Δεύτερα
δὲ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἡγησαμένη, κλείσασα τὴν θύραν ἰκέτευε τὸν
Ε θεὸν ἐκτενῶς· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνη.

‘Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ὕπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ ὄραν ἐδόκει 10
τὴν ὁσίαν Εἰρήνην παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγουσαν·
‘Βασιλεῦ, ἀναστὰς αὐτίκα τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπόλυσον ὃν καθεῖρξας
ἀδίκως· οὐδὲν γὰρ σοι τῶν κατ’ αὐτοῦ λαλουμένων ἐστὶν ἀληθές,
ψεῦδος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ συκοφαντία. Εἰ δ’ οὖν ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον κατὰ 15
σου κινήσω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἐγερῶ σοι καὶ
σφαγὴν, ὥστε σου καὶ τὰς σάρκας βορὰν προκεῖσθαι τοῖς θηρίοις
73 τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.’ Τὸν δὲ ταραχθῆναι καὶ θυμῷ
ζέσαντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀντειπεῖν· ‘Τίς καὶ πόθεν εἰ σύ, τοιαῦτα ἐμοὶ
προπετῶς ἀπειλεῖν ἀποτολμῶσα; τίς δέ σοι καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ὁ
παραχωρήσας ἐν ὥρᾳ τοιαύτῃ;’ Καὶ ἀποκριθῆναι τούτῳ· ‘Εγὼ ἡ 20
Εἰρήνη εἰμὶ τῆς τοῦ Χρυσοβαλάντου μονῆς ἡ ἡγουμένη.’ Καὶ τοῦτο
οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον εἰποῦσαν, νύξασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὴν
τούτου πλευρὰν ἀναχωρῆσαι. ‘Ἀλλὰ τίς μὴ θαυμάσει τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ
τεράστια;’ Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν πλευρὰν ὀδυνηθεὶς τεθορυβημένος
ἀφυπνίσθη, εἶδεν αὐτὴν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ βαδίζουσαν, 25
ἀπιοῦσαν καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γενομένην ἤδη τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐξιοῦσαν·
καὶ κρᾶζειν εὐθὺς ἤρξατο ὥστε πᾶσιν αὐτῷ τοῖς σωματοφυλακοῦσιν
F οὐκ ὀλίγον γενέσθαι τὸν ταραχόν, πτοηθεῖσι μὴ τι καὶ πάθοι τῶν
ἀδοκῆτων ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἦρετο γοῦν τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τὸν πρώτιστον,
ὃν δὴ καλοῦσι παρακοιμώμενον· ‘Οὐχ ἐώρακας τὴν τοῦ κοιτῶνος 30

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7 καὶ om. L || 8 τὰ: τῶν IVLSK, sed cf. *VLucJun*, PG 111, 465A, τὸ μηδὲν πάντα
τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἡγησάμενον; cf. etiam *VAlypStyl*, ed. Delehaye 184,10—11,
VTheodorThess, ed. Arsenij 29, c. 48 ad fin. (Kurtz, 28,33; etiam ibid. 40,5) || 10
περὶ: περὶ που VLSK || 13 ἐστὶν om. IVLSK || 20—21 εἰμὶ ἡ Εἰρήνη inv. P ||
21 ἡ ἡγουμένη ante τῆς tr. P || 26 καὶ . . . ἐξιοῦσαν om. PI || 27 εὐθὺς om.
IVLSK || τοῖς αὐτῷ inv. P

16—17 τοῖς θηρίοις . . . οὐρανοῦ: cf. Gen. 1,30 et sim. locc.

Totally draining their eyes of tears they begged her to help their unjustly
accused relative with her acceptable prayers. What could a soul trained
in God’s benevolence and well knowing to fulfil His law of love have done
in this situation? Utterly grieved and deeply sighing and weeping she com-
manded them to go home and not to be disheartened, saying, ‘Let us set
our hopes to the Lord, He will help.’ What else she had in hand she con-
sidered unimportant, and so she closed her door and fervently supplicated
God. So far about her.³

About midnight the Emperor, awake, not dreaming,⁴ seemed to see
the holy Irene standing beside him, saying, ‘Emperor, stand up at once
and release from prison the man you have unjustly confined. None of the
accusations brought to you against him are true; no, they are lies and
slander. Otherwise I will stir the King of heaven Himself against you, and
raise a war and a slaughter against you, so that your flesh will provide
food for the *beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air*.’ He was agitated,
and seething with anger answered her, ‘Who are you and where do you
come from, daring to threaten me with such insolence? And who let you
in at this hour?’ She replied, ‘I am Irene, the abbess of the Convent of
Chrysobalanton.’ This she said not once but thrice, and pricking him in
the side the last time she retired. But who shall not marvel at the wonders
of God? As he woke up, alarmed by the pain in his side, he saw how she
walked before his eyes, went away, and reaching the door passed out of
the chamber. Then he began to shout so that a great tumult arose among
all his bodyguards, excited lest the Emperor had met with some danger.
He asked the foremost of his confidants, the so-called Chamberlain, ‘Did

³ Cf. note 2 on ch. 13, *supra*.

⁴ According to line 24 ff., only the very end of Irene’s appearance is a waking vision,
namely when after rousing the Emperor she walks out of his chamber before his eyes.
Likewise, at 96,29, the Emperor is said to have seen her threatening him κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους.
Cf. also 92,11, 96,7. But the opposition implied by ὕπαρ — ὄναρ is here rather that be-
tween a ‘real’ vision and an imaginary sight; both may appear in dreams. See G. Dagron,
‘Rêver de Dieu . . .’ (note 2 on ch. 15, *supra*), 42.

ἐξελθοῦσαν νυνὶ μοναχήν;’ Ὁ δὲ ἀχανὴς εἰστῆκει, μὴ καὶ
 παραφρονῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑποτοπάζων· ὁμῶς ἀπεκρίνατο μηδὲν
 74 τοιοῦτον μήτε θεάσασθαι μήτε γενέσθαι· ‘Ἄλλ’ ἰδοὺ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ
 θύραι κεκλεισμέναι ἀσφαλίστατα καὶ φρουρούμεναι, αἱ κλεῖς δὲ
 ὑποτεθειμέναι τῇ ἐμῇ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν στρωμνῇ, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν πρὸς
 τὸν σὸν τὸ παράπαν εἰσοδος κοιτῶνα.’ Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ, ‘Νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς,’ εἶπεν, ‘ὥς θεία τις ἦν ὀπτασία τὰ ὁραθέντα
 μοι.’

Πρωῖας δὲ γενομένης ἐξαγαγὼν τῆς φυλακῆς τὸν κατεχόμενον
 παρίστησί τε αὐτὸν καὶ φησί· ‘Τίσι μαγείαις χρησάμενος ἀπειλὰς ἡμῖν
 ἐν ὄνειροις καὶ θορύβους ἐπεμψας, ὥς ἂν σοὶ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων
 γοητειῶν διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβουλὰς σου
 βασιλείας;’ Ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον βλέπων ἦν ἐπὶ
 δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρεστῶτας· μόλις δὲ ποτε
 ἀπεκρίνατο· ‘Πέποιθα ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ὥς οὐδέποτε μάγῳ συνέτυχον
 οὐδ’ ἠνέσχετό μου, βασιλεῦ, τοιοῦτον ἀκοή ἀσέβημα δι’ ὅλης τῆς ζωῆς
 παραδέξασθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ κατὰ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, μὴ γένοιτο, βουλὴν
 ἐγὼ — μάρτυς κύριος — ἦντιναοῦν ἐνενόησα.’ Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
 629A 75 πραότερόν πως διατεθεὶς ‘Ἐπιγινώσκεις δέ τίνα’, ἤρετο, ‘Εἰρήνην ἐν
 μοναστηρίῳ λεγομένῳ Χρυσοβαλάντῳ διάγουσαν;’ ‘Ναί,’ φησί,
 ‘βασιλεῦ, καὶ τὸ μοναστήριον ἔγγιστά που τῆς Ἀσπαρὸς ἐστὶ τῶν
 γλυκέων ὑδάτων δεξαμενῆς.’ ‘Καὶ εἰ νῦν ἀποστείλω,’ εἶπεν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς, ‘εὐροίμι ταύτην ἄν;’ ‘Ἐκ παντός,’ ἀπεκρίνατο, ‘οὐδὲ γάρ
 ποτε τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἔξεισι μοναστηρίου.’ Παραυτίκα τοίνυν τὸν τε
 πρωτοβεστιάριον καὶ τὸν σακελλάριον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν
 μεγιστάνων μετὰ τῆς συνήθους ἐξαποστείλας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπόμενον
 τούτοις καὶ ζωγράφον εἶναι παρήγγειλεν, ὑφ’ οὗ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης
 πρόσωπον εἰκονισθὲν αὐτῷ κομισθεῖν, ‘ὅπως γνώσωμαι’, φησί, ‘τὸν
 ὁραθέντα μοι χαρακτῆρα.’ Ταῦτα δὲ προστεταχὼς τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ
 αὐθις τὸν ὑπεύθυνον αὐτῷ νομιζόμενον κατέχεσθαι διωρίσατο.

Ἡ μέντοι ὅσια Εἰρήνη τὰς κατὰ τύπον ἐπικαίρως πληρώσασα

you not see the nun who just left the chamber?’ He stood aghast, suspecting the Emperor of being mad. Yet he answered that he had not seen any such thing, and no such thing had happened. ‘No’, he continued, ‘all the doors are safely locked and guarded, and the keys are still under my bed where I have put them. From absolutely nowhere is there a way into your chamber.’ Returned to his senses the Emperor said, ‘Now I know for sure that my sight was a divine vision.’

In the morning he had the prisoner led out of the dungeon, brought him forward and said, ‘What magic did you use to threat and confuse us with dreams, trying through such sorceries to escape the consequences of your plottings against our Imperial Majesty?’ Unable to say anything to this, the man only looked to the right and to the left at those who stood by, but at last answered, ‘By God, I am convinced that I have never spoken with a sorcerer, and throughout my life, Emperor, I have refused even to listen to anyone speaking of such a sacrilege. No—the Lord is my witness—, far be it from me to have planned any assault against Your Majesty!’ Somewhat mollified the Emperor asked, ‘Do you know one Irene living in a convent called Chrysobalanton?’ ‘Yes, Emperor’, he said, ‘the convent is situated quite near the sweet-water cistern of Aspar.’⁵ ‘So if I send for her now’, said the Emperor, ‘I could find her?’ ‘Certainly’, he answered, ‘she never leaves her convent.’ Immediately dispatching the Master of the Robes and the Treasurer and some others from among the grantees with their usual retinue, he commanded that a painter should also be in their company. By him Irene’s face should be portrayed and brought to him, so that he might recognize, as he said, the features of his vision. Having given this order he resolved that the man he considered guilty should be imprisoned again.

But the holy Irene, having performed the prayers prescribed for the oc-

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3 γενέσθαι μήτε θεάσασθαι inv. P || 12 διαδρᾶναι γενήσεται: γένηται δ. P ||
 τὰς: τὰς σὰς P || ἐπιβουλὰς σου: ἐπιβουλὰς P || 13 μὴ: μηδὲν IVLSK, qui
 ti om. || 14 ἐπ’ om. P || 16 ἀκοή τοιοῦτον inv. P || fort. suppl. (ἡ) ἀκοή
 || 17—18 βουλὴν ἐγὼ μὴ γένοιτο inv. I βουλὴν suprascr. L || 22 εἶπεν: ἔφη I
 || 23 ἄν: ἄρα IVLSK || 24 ἑαυτῆς: αὐτῆς P || 25 καὶ τὸν σακελλάριον om.
 S || 28 κομισθῆναι P || γνῶ P || 29 δὲ om. P

⁵ On this cistern, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), 204—205. Several monasteries are known to have existed in this rather rural district; see id., ‘Les sanctuaires du quartier de Pétra (Constantinople)’ *EO*, 34 (1935), 402—413.

προσευχάς, εἰς τὸ διακονικὸν γενομένη τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάσας
συγκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἀδελφάς φησι πρὸς αὐτάς· 'Ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ὄναρ
μοι συνέβη παρὰ βασιλέως ὁρᾶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεγιστᾶνας
ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ πολλὴν ἵππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὄχλον ἐπισυρομένους
καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥς μὴδὲ ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῆς μονῆς τὸν ὅλον χωρητὸν εἶναι.
"Ὅμως εἴ τι καὶ συμβαίῃ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὴδαμῶς θροηθῆτε, καὶ
κύριος τὸ συμφέρον πάντως οἰκονομήσει.' Αἱ δὲ φόβῳ καὶ δειλίᾳ
ληφθεῖσαι τὰς χεῖρας θατέρᾳ προστρίβουσαι θατέραν ἐν μεγάλῃ λύπῃ
ταῦτ' ἐποιῶντο.

Καὶ παρευθὺς ἦκον οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένοι, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος
καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῶν φαινομένων ἢ θυρωρὸς φοβηθεῖσα, τὸν τῆς
μονῆς ἡνεωγμένον λιποῦσα πυλῶνα ὄχρετο δραμοῦσα τὴν
ἀπροσδόκητον ἔλευσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπαγγεῖλαι. 'Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ
τά τε ἐνδότερα τά τε τῆς μονῆς ἐξώτερα πλήρη τῶν ἵππων ὥρᾱτο
καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων· ὅπερ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγην πτόησιν
ἐνεποίει, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς ὁσίας πρόρρησιν ἔτι τοῖς ὧσιν ἐχούσαις
ἐναυλον. Πράως δὲ τοὺς τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀποβαίνοντας πρὸς αὐτάς
ἔχοντας ὁρῶσαι, τοῦ φόβου μὲν ἀνείθησαν, τῆς διδασκάλου δὲ τὴν
πρόγνωσιν ἐξεπλήττοντο. Μηνύει τοίνυν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσι τούτοις διὰ
μιᾶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ ὁσία, πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσελθόντας ἐκεῖσε
ταύτην ὄψεσθαι. Εἰσίσαι οὖν οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τὰ προστεταγμένα
ὧσιν οἰκείοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἐδέξαντο, καὶ προσευξάμενοι τῆς ὁσίας
ἀνέμενον τὴν ἔλευσιν. Νέφεσι δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου διατειχίζουσι τὰς
λαμπηδόνας ἀλαμπῇ συνέβαινε τὸν ἀέρα τυγχάνειν. Ἦκε τοίνυν καὶ
ἡ ὁσία διὰ τῆς πλαγίας θύρας πρὸς αὐτούς· προηγησαμένη δὲ τῆς
προσκυνήσεως προσκυνοῦντας εἶχε καὶ τούτους. Καὶ δὴ ἀνανεῦοντες
εἶδον ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀνατέλλουσαν τοῦ τιμίου αὐτῆς
προσώπου· καὶ μὴ φέροντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπесον χαμαί,

PIVLSK

6 θροηθείτε IVLSK || 12 ἀνεωγμένον P || 17 ἵπποζυγίων VLSK || 20 ἐκεῖ
P || 21 οὐ πάντες ἀλλ': ἅπαντες P || 23 ἔλευσιν: ἀφίξιν I || 23—24 νέφεσι
... διατειχίζουσι τὰς λαμπηδόνας: νεφῶν ... τὰς λαμπηδόνας διατειχίζοντων P
|| 26 καὶ¹ om. IVLSK || 27 τοῦ²: ἐκ τοῦ P

28 ἀπῆλθον ... χαμαί: Io. 18,6

⁶ Why 'unexpected'? Since Irene had warned 'all the sisters' (*supra*, line 1 f.) about the arrival of the Emperor's men, the only explanation possible seems to be that the door-keeper did not belong to the sisterhood but had the position of a secular servant, much like the vine-dresser Nicholas (*supra*, ch. 15) and, probably, the maid Eueitheia (*infra*, ch. 22). The social structure of Byzantine nunneries included the two categories of nuns who sang the

casion, went into the diaconicon of the church, and gathering together all the sisters said to them, 'This night I had a dream in which I saw grantees sent out to us by the Emperor, bringing with them a numerous crowd of horsemen and footmen, so large that there was not room for them all in the courts of the convent. Yet if something of the kind should happen, you must by no means be troubled: the Lord will surely dispense a favourable issue.' But they were beset by fear and anxiety and kept wringing their hands in great distress.

Presently the men sent out by the Emperor arrived. Leaving the gates of the convent open in fear of their multitude and magnificence of appearance, the door-keeper ran away to announce the unexpected⁶ arrival of the officials. Meanwhile horses⁷ and mules were seen thronging both inside and outside the convent. At first this inspired great excitement into the sisters, especially since they had the holy woman's prophecy still ringing in their ears. But when they saw that the men dismounting the horses were friendly disposed towards them, they relaxed from their fear and marvelled at the foreknowledge of their teacher. Through one of the sisters the Saint gave a signal to the grantees to enter the church and see her there. Not all went in but only as many as had received the orders from the Emperor with their own ears, and after a prayer they waited for the holy woman to arrive. As clouds screened off the light of the sun, the day happened to be dark. The Saint came in to them through the side-door. Taking the lead in prostration, she made the men too prostrate themselves, and when they raised their eyes, they saw a flash of lightning suddenly rise from her precious face. Unable to bear it, *they went backward and fell to the ground*, like those who had come to arrest Christ,

liturgy and nuns who worked in the household. But besides, servants and even slaves were not uncommon; see J. Leroy, 'Les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite', *AnalBoll*, 82 (1964), 409—429, esp. 417 with note 1.

⁷ People on horseback seem to have constituted a common feature in Constantinopolitan urban life, at least as far as the relatively well-to-do are concerned. E.g., as the Emperor Theophilos, as usual riding his horse through the city one Friday, was approached by some nuns supplicating him about the maltreatment by two landed *magistroi*, the latter appeared to have followed the nuns on horseback (*De Theophili imperatoris benefactis* ed. Regel 41,14—24). In *VTheophan* (ed. Kurtz 17,30) a certain Myron, *kandidatos* and secretary of the author's father, thus not a man of high rank, rides his own horse on an errand in the city. A noble woman appears on horseback near the monastery of the young Antonios Kauleas in *VAntCaul*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 21,3 ff. In *VASal*, PG 111, 849BC, a *chartoularios plōimōn*, belonging to 'the powerful' (εἰς τῶν μεγάλων), but perhaps not to the highest society, rides his horse near the Hippodrome. In the 12th c., Benjamin of Tudela was impressed by the luxurious life of the Constantinopolitans, e.g. the fact that they 'ride

καθάπερ οἱ συλλαβεῖν ἐληλυθότες τὸν καθηγητὴν αὐτῆς καὶ νυμφίον Χριστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅλον πεπλήρωκε τῆς φωτοχυσίας τὸν ναόν. Προσερχομένη δὲ χειρὰς ὥρεγεν ἐκάστω καὶ διανίστα τούτους λέγουσα· 'Τεκνία μου, μὴ φοβεῖσθε· κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσθένειαν περικειμένη τῆς φύσεως. 'Αλλὰ τί κόπους ὑμῖν παρέσχεν ὁ ἀποστείλας ὑμᾶς ἄπιστος; Εἶπατε γοῦν αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα, ἅπερ ἔδοξεν ἐν ὄνειρῳ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούειν· " 'Απόλυσον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς· οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄδικον εἰργασμένος οὐδὲ κατὰ τῆς σῆς μελετήσας βασιλείας. Εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ λαληθέντα σοι πάντως ἔξει καὶ πέρας, καὶ κύριος οὐ βραδυνεῖ, ὅτι πᾶσιν ἐγγὺς ἐστι

78 τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ." ' Οἱ δὲ μήπω τοῦ προτέρου τελέως ἀνεθέντες φόβου, καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες δέει πολλῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον· "Απαγγελοῦμεν πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν σὴν πρόσταξιν· ἀξιούμεν δὲ μικρὸν καθεσθεῖσαν τῆς σῆς ἡμῖν ψυχωφελοῦς ὁμιλίας μεταδοῦναι.' Τοῦτο δὲ δυοῖν ἔνεκα παρ' αὐτῆς 630D ἦτησαν, ἐνὶ μὲν ὥστε τῆς τιμίας αὐτῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων ἀπολαῦσαι ῥημάτων, ἐτέρῳ δὲ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐπίταγμα καὶ τὸν ζωγράφον ἐκτελέσαι, τῷ παρέλκοντι τῆς ὁμιλίας ἀκριβέστερον τὸ ταύτης εἶδος διαγράψαντα.

Λαβόντες τοίνυν τὸ τῆς ὀσίας ἐκτύπωμα καὶ μετ' εὐχῶν αὐτῆς 20 προπεμφθέντες πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα τούτους ὑπέστρεψαν ἀπαγγειλαντες αὐτῷ, ὅσα τε εἶδον ὅσα τε ἤκουσαν παρ' αὐτῆς. Εἶτα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτης ὑποδεικνύουσι, καὶ ἅμα τῷ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπιβαλεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν βασιλέα, ἀστραπή τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ὀξέως ἐκπηδήσασα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ φοβερὸν περιήστραψε, καὶ μέγα τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ 25 φόβου πεποίηκεν ἀνακεκραγένοι· "Ελέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου.' Καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ εἰστήκει ἐννεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν χαρακτήρα βλέπων καὶ διὰ θαύματος ποιούμενος, ὅπως ἐκεῖνης αὐτῆς ἐστὶν, ἣν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἑώρα διαπειλουμένην

79 αὐτῷ. Μηκέτι γοῦν ἀμφιβάλλων τοῖς ὁράμασιν ἐξάγει τὸν 30

PIVLSK

3 προσελθοῦσα P || 9 εἰ: ἐὰν IVLSK || 12 ἀνεθέντος P || 15 εἶνεκα VLSK || 27 σου ἔλεος inv. VLS σου suprascr. K || καὶ² om. P || 29 ἑώρακε I

5 τὴν . . . περικειμένη: cf. Heb. 5,2; cf. etiam Act. 14,15 || 10 κύριος . . . βραδυνεῖ: cf. Sir. 35(32),19 || 10—11 πᾶσιν . . . ἀληθεία: cf. Ps. 144(145),18 || 26—27 ἐλέησον . . . σου: Ps. 50(51),3

her Teacher and Bridegroom; for it flooded the whole church with its brightness. Approaching, she stretched her hands towards each of them and made them stand up, saying, 'My children, do not be frightened. I am also a human being,⁸ *compassed with the natural infirmity* of humans. But why did he who sent you cause you trouble in his distrust? Only tell him again what he believed to hear from me in the dream: "Release the man from prison. He has done no wrong, nor has he plotted against Your Majesty. Otherwise the words spoken to you will surely come true, and the Lord will not delay, for He is *nigh unto all them that call upon Him in truth*".' When they heard this, being not yet fully relaxed from their former fear, they said to her in great dread, 'We will report all to the Emperor according to your command. But we pray you, sit down for a short while and give us part of your soul-benefitting conversation.' This they requested from her with two intentions, firstly to enjoy her precious appearance and her God-inspired words, secondly to enable the painter to perform the Emperor's command, delineating her face the more accurately as the conversation was protracted.

Bidden farewell with her prayers, they returned with the image of the holy woman to him who had sent them, reporting to him all they had seen and all they had heard from her. Then they showed him her image, and just as the Emperor cast his eyes on it, a flash of lightning suddenly sprang up from it, gleaming terribly before his eyes, and made him cry aloud in terror, '*Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy lovingkindness!*' Greatly appalled he stood speechless for a long time, looking at the portrait in amazement that it showed exactly the woman who had threatened him in his dream. No longer doubting his vision he led the prisoner out

their horses like princes' [whereas 'no Jew is allowed to ride a horse, except for R. Solomon the Egyptian, who is the King's doctor']; see the trans. by A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), 136.

⁸ For parallels to this phrase, which is common in the context, see D. Papachryssanthou, 'La Vie ancienne . . .' (note 1 on ch. 18, *supra*), 45, note 1. Add Athanasios, *VAnt*, 48 (PG 26, 913A; somewhat different context), and cf. 104,14, *infra*.

κατεχόμενον τῆς φυλακῆς εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι διεκώλυσεν αὐτῷ
 E τὴν ἀδικον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὴν μελλόντων
 ἐπενεχθῆναι τούτῳ δεινῶν προφανῶς ἐλυτρώσατο. Γράφει δὲ πρὸς
 τὴν ὁσίαν ἐπιστολὴν τὸν τύπον ἔχουσαν τοῦτον· 'Κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξίν
 σου, θεράπεινα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν κατεχόμενον, ὡς ἐδήλωσας, ἀθῶον 5
 ὄντα τῆς φυλακῆς, ἰδοὺ, σοὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. 'Επιγράφοντες δὲ καὶ
 χάριτας, καθότι διὰ σοῦ τῆς ἐπηρτημένης δίκης ἡμεῖς ἀπηλλάγημεν,
 καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦμεν ὧν ἐσφάλημεν πρὸς τὴν σὴν σεμνοπρέπειαν·
 ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς πεισθῆναι τῇ κελεύσει σου τῆς σῆς ἀξιοθέντας
 ἐπιφανείας καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλῆσαι σοί. Σύγγνωθι τοίνυν μητρικῇ 10
 συμπαθείᾳ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἴλεων τῇ πολλῇ σου παρρησίᾳ χρωμένῃ
 ποιήσον ἡμῖν· ἔσται δὲ σου γνώριμον τὸ συμπαθές, ἐὰν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 οὐκ ἀπαξιώσης τὴν παρουσίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵν' ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα
 τῇ τῶν ἡγιασμένων σου χειρῶν εὐλογηθῶμεν ἐπιθέσει. Εἰ δέ σοι τοῦτο 15
 μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε πάντως ἐλευσόμεθα πρὸς σε καὶ
 δεηθισόμεθα τάχα δευτέραν διὰ ὁχλησιν δευτέρας καὶ συγγνώμης.'

80 Δεξαμένη δὲ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς διὰ τινος τῶν τοῦ
 κοιτῶνος αὐτῇ σταλέντα δῶρα βασιλικά, χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἀντιγράφει
 F καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ· "Ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὸς ὢν, βασιλεῦ, πάντοτε
 συγκαταβαίνειν οἶδε ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν· φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ καὶ οὐ 20
 θελήσει θέλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν
 αὐτόν. Σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ μὴ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἡ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ δὸς δόξαν. Πλὴν
 οὔτε τὴν βασιλείαν σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν οὔτε τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ταπεινῶσιν πρὸς σὲ πρέπον ἐστίν· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐστὶ σοὶ χρεῖα γυναιίου
 πενιχροῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ. Ἐχεις δὲ τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, ὧν αἱ χεῖρες 25
 εἰς τὸ ἀγιαζεῖν μόνον ἐτάχθησαν, τὸν ἅγιον ἡμῶν πατέρα καὶ
 πατριάρχην, τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ὀρθοδόξου
 ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας τῶν μοναστηρίων, καὶ ἐὰν
 θέλης ἐνωτίζεσθαι τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν νουθεσίας, καὶ τὸν θεὸν
 θεραπεύσεις καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσάν σοι βασιλείαν εὐσεβῶς καὶ 30
 σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως ἔση κυβερνῶν. Εἰ δὲ τῷ σκοπῷ σου βουλευθῇς
 ἀκολουθήσαι, εὖ ἴσθι, ὡς οὔτε μεταστειλάμενος οὔτε μὴν

PIVLSK

11 ἴλεω VLSK || 16 δευτέρας δι' ὁχλήσεως P || 22 ἀλλὰ om. P || 24 ἐστίν:
 ἐστὶν ἀφικέσθαι P || 30 θεραπεύσης VLSK || 31 βουλευθείης P

20—22 οὐ θελήσει . . . αὐτόν: cf. Ez. 18,23 || 22 μὴ ἡμῖν . . . δόξαν: Ps. 113,9 (115,1)

of his confinement, thanking God that He had prevented him from the unjust murder of the man and manifestly rescued him from the evils that would in consequence have befallen him. Then he wrote a letter to the Saint with the following content: 'Servant of Christ, according to your command we have released the prisoner from his confinement, for he is, as you have shown, without guilt. Assigning you gifts, since through you we have been rescued from the imminent punishment, we beg for forgiveness for whatever wrong we have done your Highness. When we were granted your epiphany, we should have obeyed your command and by no means bothered you. Forgive us with motherly sympathy and make God gracious to us, using your great freedom of speech. Your sympathetic heart will be apparent of you do not decline to pay a call on us so that I and the Empress might be blessed with the laying on of your sanctified hands. If this does not please you, then we will certainly come to you and beg for a second forgiveness for importuning you a second time.'

Having received the letter and the gifts which the Emperor sent her along with it through one of the chamber servants, Irene wrote to the Emperor in her own hand: 'Being good, Emperor, God is always wont to overlook our infirmities. He loves mankind and has no *pleasure at all that the wicked should die but that he should be converted and live. Not unto us, then, but unto His name give glory.* It is not suitable, however, that Your Imperial Highness should visit me nor that I in my humility should visit you, for you have no need of a poor sinful woman. You have people to bless you, the hands of whom are assigned solely to sanctifying: our Holy Father, the patriarch, the bishops of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, the spiritual fathers of the monasteries. If you are willing to listen to advice from them, you will both serve God and be a pious and wise and righteous ruler of the empire entrusted to you. But if you wish to pursue your intention, you should know that neither if you send for me nor

ἐλευσόμενος ὄψει τὸ παράπαν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸν θεὸν παροξυνεῖς· καὶ ἂν ἀκούσης μου, ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου σκεπάσει σε πάντως ἐκ παντὸς πειρασμοῦ.⁷

- 81 Ταῦτα γράψασα καὶ σφραγίσασα καὶ τινα χάριν εὐλογίας ἀνταπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ· οἷς δὴ καὶ περίλυπος γενόμενος ὅτι μὴ ταύτην ἀξιοῦται θεάσασθαι, περὶ τούτου μὲν οὐκέτι δεῖν ἔγνω βιάσασθαι· συνεχέστερον δὲ πέμπων καὶ εὐχῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ῥημάτων ἀφθόνως ἀπήλαυε διὰ τῶν ἐρχομένων, καὶ πολλὴν παρ' αὐτῆς εὐρίσκων ἦν τὴν παράκλησιν. Ὁ μέντοι διασωθεὶς τοῦ κινδύνου 631A συγγενὴς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εὐχαριστίας τούτους 10 ἔπλυνε δάκρυσι. Διαναστήσασα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐχαριστίας πρὸς θεὸν εἰποῦσα ῥήματα, πολλαῖς δὲ τοῦτον σθενώσασα παραινέσσει καὶ βίου λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν τὸν θεὸν θεραπεύοντος ἐπιτρέψασα, 'Εἰ μὴ γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν', φησί, 'καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καταφρόνησιν ἐγκαταλειφθῶμεν, 15 οὐκ ἔχει καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιφέρειν ὁ πονηρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς πειρασμούς.' Καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ θεὸς γρηγορεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ προσεύχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς πειρασμούς, διεμαρτύρατο, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξεν. Εὐφροσύνης ἡμέραν καὶ χαρμονῆς τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας τὴν σήμερον ἔκρινε γενέσθαι· καὶ 20 τράπεζαν κοινὴν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐτοιμάσασθαι παντοδαποῖς κεκοσμημένην ἀσκητικοῖς ἐδωδήμασι, καὶ τούτῳ σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς εἰς δόξαν συνειστιάθῃ θεοῦ· εἶτα τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συγγενέσιν εὐφροσύνης αὐτὸν πλείονος ἀφορμὴν καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν. 25

22. 'Ἄλλ' ἱκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα παραστήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἐν 82 αὐτῇ χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ λόγος δὲ βιάζεται καὶ ἕτερον σιωπῆς οὐκ ἄξιον οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι. Ἀνὴρ τις τῶν συνήθων αὐτῇ καὶ φίλων — Χριστοφόρος ὄνομα αὐτῷ —, ὃν διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐλάβειαν 30 δι' αἰδοῦς εἶχε καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ γνησίως ὠμίλει τούτῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ

PIVLSK

1 ἐλευσόμενος: ἐλθὼν P || 2 σκεπάσει VLSK || 8 ἀπέλαυε P ἀπήλαυε I || 11—12 καὶ . . . τοῦτον in marg. scr. SK || 16 ἐπιφέρειν . . . πειρασμούς: ἰσχὺν ὁ πονηρὸς τοὺς πειρασμούς ἐπιφέρειν P || 17 καὶ³ om. P || 18 πειρασμόν I || 20 σήμερον . . . γενέσθαι: ἡμέραν λογίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ P || 21 ἐτοιμάσαι P ἐτοιμάσθαι L || 28 οὐκ ἐπικρύψαι: διηγῆσθαι P

2 ἡ δεξιὰ . . . σκεπάσει: cf. Sap. 5,16 || 17—18 γρηγορεῖν . . . πειρασμούς: cf. Mt. 26,41 || 26—27 τὸν πλοῦτον . . . τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Eph. 1,7 et sim. locc.

if you come here will you by any means see me, but rather annoy God. And if you listen to me, the right hand of the Supreme will surely protect you from every temptation.⁹

Having written and sealed this, she also sent some gifts⁹ in return to the Emperor. He was very grieved hereat, since he was not permitted to see her, but decided not to persist in his entreaty. Yet through messengers, whom he frequently sent to her, he fully enjoyed her prayers and words and derived great comfort from her. Again, the kinsman who had been saved from the peril threw himself at her feet and washed them with tears of gratitude. Raising him and uttering many words of gratitude to God, she supported him with many admonitions and exhorted him to begin a life of service to God, and she said, 'Unless we are abandoned through our sins and through disdain of Christ's commands, the Evil One has no power to impose temptations on us.' And since our Shepherd and Teacher and God warned us always to *watch and pray* in order that we might not *enter into temptation*, she taught the man to do so continuously. She decided that the present day should be a day of joy and rejoicing at his salvation, and ordered that a common table be prepared, decorated with all kinds of ascetic foods. To God's glory she shared the meal with him along with the sisters, then she sent him away, a cause of still greater joy and happiness for his wife, his children, and all his kin.

22. Christopher's Death Predicted

Although this will suffice to show forth *the riches of God's grace* in her, the narrative strives to reveal another deed which does not deserve to be concealed. A man among her close friends called Christopher,¹ whom she held in respect and honour because of his inherent piety, candidly con-

⁹ On the Byzantine habit of sending gifts with letters, see A. Karpozelos, 'Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X—XII c', *BZ*, 77 (1984), 20—37. To judge from the numerous examples adduced by the author, in most of which various kinds of food figure as gifts, Irene may have sent the Emperor a sample of the produce of the convent's garden or vineyard.

22. ¹ Cf. note 1 on ch. 12, *supra*, on the eunuch Cyril. Irene's role in relation to Christopher is not that of a spiritual mother, it is rather Christopher who acts as Irene's adviser (line 30 f., τούτῳ . . . τὰ πολλὰ θαρροῦσα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑπήρχεν). The term συνήθης does not normally imply kinship. But we should probably regard Christopher as a man with close relations to Irene's kin, the Gouber family.

θαρροῦσα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχεν, — οὗτος ὑγιής τε ὢν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔκ
 τινος ὀχλήσιν ὑφορώμενος νόσου τῷ σώματι, ἐπεὶ περ ὁμιλίας
 συνήθους ἔτυχεν, ἀπιέναι μέλλων, βαλὼν μετάνοιαν τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς
 ἔθος, ἤτησε παρ' αὐτῆς. Ἡ δὲ πραεὶα φωνῇ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἀπιθι,
 τέκνον, ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύσαι μετὰ δικαίων τὸ πνεῦμά σου." Ὁ δὲ
 συνετὸς ὢν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὀξύτερος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἶναι ῥῆμα τὸ
 λεχθὲν ὑπείληφεν, ὅθεν καὶ διαταραχθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν σύντρομος ἔστη
 καὶ κατηφής. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ τοῦτον οὕτως ἔχοντα ἢ ὁσία, ἀνακτᾶσθαι
 λόγοις ἤρξατο μειλίχοις, "Μὴ θορυβηθῆς, τέκνον," λέγουσα, "ἐννοιά
 μου τὸν νοῦν ἀλλαχοῦ τις εἶχε συνεστραμμένον, καὶ προὔπεμψεν ἡ

83 γλῶσσά σοι τὴν εὐχὴν οὕτω δι' ἀπροσεξίαν." Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἄτε
 πεπειραμένος αὐτῆς οὐ μετεβάλετο· ἐνθεν τοι καὶ παρακαθισταμένη
 τοῦτον πάλιν ὁμιλίας ἀπῆρχετο, πρὸς εὐθυμίαν μεταθεῖναι
 σπουδάζουσα, καὶ προβαίνουσα τοῖς λόγοις παρήνει καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς
 βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 632D τὴν σὺν Χριστῷ ζωὴν τὴν ἀνώλεθρον. Πρὸς δὲ κατάνυξιν αὐτόν καὶ
 δάκρυα κινήσασα, ὡς ἔγνω τούτου καθεστηκυῖαν ἤδη τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
 γαληνῶσαν, ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ οἴκοι κατέλαβε καὶ
 τροφῆς μετέλαβε, περὶ πού τοις ἐπιλυχνίους ὕμνους οὐδὲν πλέον
 εἰπὼν ἄλλ' ἢ τοῦτο μόνον· "Τὴν κεφαλὴν μου, τὴν κεφαλὴν μου," τῇ
 20 γῇ καταβληθεὶς ἐξέψυξεν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω δῆλον ἦν.

Ὡς γοῦν ἐκεῖνος τῇ ὁσίᾳ συνταξάμενος ἀπῆει, μία τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 — ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γνησίως εἶχον — λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν·

84 "Ἰνα τί οὕτως ἀπελογήσω, κυρία μου, τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κατὰ πάντα
 Χριστοφόρῳ; Καὶ ἰδοῦ, περίλυπος ἄπεισιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ λῖαν
 25 κατώδυνος τὴν ψυχὴν." Ἡ δὲ "Ἀπελθε, τέκνον," φησί, "καὶ οὐχ
 εὐρήσεις τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ζώσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον ἄν
 ἐξεφώνησα λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐν ὅσῳ διαλεγομένη πρὸς αὐτόν ἤμην,
 νεανίαν εἶδον λαμπρὸν τῷ εἶδει καὶ τῇ καταστολῇ τοῦ ἐνδύματος
 30 ὀπισθεν ἔστηκότα τούτου καὶ δρεπάνην ἠκονημένην ὀξέως τῇ δεξιᾷ

PIVLSK

5—6 ὁ δὲ συνετὸς: συνετὸς δὲ P (cf. supra 58,16) || 6 ὁ ἀνὴρ: ἀνὴρ I || 12
 μετεβάλλετο I VLSK || 14 καὶ² om. VLSK || 16 σὺν: ἐν P || 18—19
 κατέλαβε... μετέλαβε: καταλάβοι... μεταλάβοι P || 22 οὖν P || 30 δρέπανον
 I VLSK

18 ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ: cf. Lc. 2,29 || 30 δρεπάνην... δεξιᾷ: cf. Apoc. 14,14

² Cf. Theod. Stud., *Cant.* XVII 1 (Pitra, p. 373), τὸν μεταστάντα εὐσεβῶς ἐκ τῶν
 προσκαιρῶν μετὰ δικαίων ἀνάπαυσον.

versing with him and confiding most of her concerns to him—, this man,
 who was healthy and had no reason to expect corporeal trouble from any
 illness, had had one of his habitual conversations with her. When he was
 about to leave, he fell on his knees and asked, as was his wont, for a prayer
 from her. She said to him in a gentle voice, 'Go, my son, may God let
 your spirit rest among the righteous.'² The man, who was intelligent and
 keen of mind, surmised that her words were no mere phrase, and deeply
 disturbed in his soul he stood trembling and dejected. When the holy
 woman saw him in this condition, she began to cheer him up with gentle
 words, saying, 'Do not worry, my son, thoughts kept my mind distracted,
 and lack of attention made that prayer for you slip from my tongue.' But
 since he knew her by experience he would not be comforted, and therefore
 she had him seated beside her and started to talk afresh, eager to bring
 him round to cheerfulness. She proceeded with her words to advise him
 about the Kingdom of Heaven, the enjoyment of the eternal good, and
 the imperishable life with Christ. She moved him to compunction and
 tears, and when she perceived that his soul was settled and calm, she let
 him *depart in peace*. About the time of the lighting-up hymns,³ when he
 was home and had taken some food, he said merely 'My head, my head!',
 and no more, whereupon he fell to the ground and gave up the ghost. But
 this was not yet known.⁴

When he had bid farewell to the holy woman and left, one of the
 sisters—in fact they all had sincere feelings for him—asked her, 'Why,
 Mistress, did you answer Christopher, our all-faithful friend, in that way?
 See, now the man leaves utterly distressed and grieved in his soul.' 'Go,
 my child', she answered, 'you will not find him among the living. I would
 not have uttered a word of that kind without reason; no, while I was
 speaking to him, I saw a youth standing behind him, brilliant in his ap-
 pearance and his dignified attire and holding a *sharp-edged sickle in his*

³ See A. S. Korakides, *Ἀρχαῖοι ὕμνοι: 1. Ἡ ἐπιλυχνίος εὐχαριστία* "Φῶς ἱλαρὸν
 ἁγίας δόξης..." (Athens, 1979); text of the hymn, p. 83.

⁴ With this somewhat vague phrase (for which cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 52 [PG 36, 564A]),
 in a more suitable context the narrative takes a step back to the point where Christopher
 leaves Chrysobalanton (cf. next line, 'Ὡς οὖν... συνταξάμενος ἀπῆει, κτλ.'). A modern
 author would probably have handled the problem of narrating simultaneous events differ-
 ently, e.g., including the details of Christopher's death altogether in the message of
 Eueitheia on her return to the convent (*infra*, 104,7—8), so as to save the point of the
 story to be revealed at the end. Cf. note 2 on ch. 13, *supra*.

Ε κατέχοντα, καὶ τινὰς συνεστῶτας καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῷ τῆς ζωῆς δακτύλοις ἀριθμοῦντας καὶ μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἑσπέρας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτων εἶναι τὸ πέρας τὴν ψῆφον ἐκφέροντας. Ὁμῶς δ' οὖν τὴν παιδίσκην Εὐθήθειαν καλέσατε. Καὶ δὴ παραστάσης, Ἐπορεύθητι, τέκνον,' εἶπε, 'παρὰ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ φίλου Χριστοφόρου, καὶ τὰ 5 κατ' αὐτὸν ὅπως ἔχει διερωτήσασα ταχέως ἡμῖν ἀνάγγελον ἐλθοῦσα.' Ὑποστρέψασαν δὲ καὶ ζῶντα τοῦτον εἰποῦσαν οὐχ εὐρηκέναι τὴν παιδίσκην μαθοῦσαι, ἀπηνεώθησαν πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξαν ἀνέπεμπον τῷ τοιαύτης αὐτὰς καταξιώσαντι τῆς παιδαγωγοῦ. Ἐξ ἐκείνου τοίνυν εἰ ποτέ τι μετὰ τὴν ἐντυχίαν εὐχὴν 10 ἔλεγεν ἐξιόντι, προσεῖχον ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ᾧτινι ἂν "Ὁ θεός", εἶπεν, 'ἀναπαύσαι σε, τέκνον', ἀναντιρρήτως αὐτὸν παρὰ πόδας ἢ τελευτὴ κατελάμβανεν.

85 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον οὖσαν ἔδει τὸ κοινὸν ἀποτίσαι χρέος, τὸν θάνατον — εἴ γε δεῖ θάνατον ἐκείνης ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ 15 μετὰστασιν εἰς οὐρανούς ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ἀνάβασιν καὶ τελείαν ἐγγύτητα —, μανθάνει καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὴν οἰκειάν ἠγνόησε τελευτὴν ἢ καὶ τὰς ἄλλων προλέγουσα; Καὶ ἀκούει παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὥς τοὺς ἄξιους ἀκούειν εἰκός, λαλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος. Παρὴν μὲν οὖν ἕκτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ μηνὸς Ἰουλίου, καθ' ἣν τοῦ τῆς 20 μνησῆς ναοῦ, ὃς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ ἱδρύεται, τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἐτήσιος μνήμη τελεῖται. Προσευχομένης δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· 'Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπιτελέσεις, Εἰρήνη, τῶν ἐγκαινίων τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπερχόμενον ἔτος· τρίτῃ δὲ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ καινὸν ἥσεις μετ' ἀγγέλων τῷ θρόνῳ παραστᾶσα τῆς 25 θεότητος.'

Ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περαιωθέντος καὶ τοῦ Ἰουλίου πάλιν ἐπιστάντος μηνός, παρ' ὅλην ἑβδομάδα ἡμερῶν ἄσιτος τῇ προσευχῇ προσεκαρτέρει καὶ τῇ στάσει. Τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων δὲ τελέσασα 30 μνήμην καὶ τῶν θείων μεταλαβοῦσα μυστηρίων, τροφῆς μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς

PIVLSK

6 ἀνάγγελον P || 10 εὐτυχίαν IK || 14 αὐτὴν: ταύτην P || 16 εἰς . . . ἀνάβασιν om. L || 22 προσευχομένη VLSK (cf., e.g., supra 10, 10—11) || 24—25 τῆς σήμερον: μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμέρᾳ P || 25 μετ' ἀγγέλων ἥσεις inv. P

25 ἥσεις . . . ἥσεις: cf. Ps. 32(33), 3 et sim. locc. || 28—29 τῇ προσευχῇ προσεκαρτέρει: cf. Rom. 12, 12

right *hand*. Together with the youth some figures were standing, counting the years of Christopher's life on their fingers and concluding to each other that those years would come to an end the present evening.⁵ But now call for the maid Eutheia.' As the latter stood before her, Irene said, 'Go, my child, to the house of our friend Christopher. Ask how he is, then come here quickly and tell us.' Returning, the maid reported that she had not found him alive, and when the sisters learnt this they were all struck dumb and sent up glory to God who had granted them such a teacher. From now on, if she said a prayer to someone who was to leave after a conversation with her, they paid close attention, and for anyone to whom she said, 'May God let you rest, my child', it was beyond doubt that death would precipitately overcome him.

23. Irene's Last Words, Death, and Interment

Herself a human being, Irene had to pay the common debt of death—if in her case it should be called death rather than a removal to heaven or an ascent and a perfect proximity to God—and she learnt about this too from the Spirit.¹ For how could she, who used to predict the death to others, have been ignorant of her own death? She heard it, as it is likely for the worthy to hear, by the Spirit's own words. It was on the twenty-sixth of the month of July, the day on which the consecration of the convent's church, which is dedicated to the archangel Gabriel, is annually commemorated. As she prayed, the Holy Spirit said to her, 'Now, Irene, and in the year to come you will celebrate the consecration day. But on the third feast-day from today you will *sing a new song* along with angels, standing before the throne of the Godhead.'

When that year was at an end and the month of July again had come, she persevered in her prayer and her standing exercises, abstaining from food for a whole week. Having celebrated the memory of the consecration and partaken of the Divine Mysteries, she took no food whatever except

⁵ Cf. *VASal*, ed. L. Rydén (forthcoming), Appendix C, εἶδε τὸν θάνατον ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτα, ψῆφον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναμένοντα· κατεῖχε δὲ δρέπανον ὃξὺ καὶ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέμενεν.

23. ¹ On some characteristic traits in this chapter, cf. D. Abrahamse, 'Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period', *GOTR*, 29 (1984), 125—134, with references to *VI* and other hagiographic texts.

τὸ παράπαν ἑτέρας ἐγεύσατο, τὸ δὲ μῆλον ἐκεῖνο τὸ σεβάσμιον, ὅπερ
τὸν ἐπιστήθιον καὶ ἡγαπημένον τῷ Χριστῷ μαθητὴν μεθ' ἑτέρων δύο
πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῇ τοῦτο τετηρηκέναι
φυλακτήριον αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωκε — καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸ
διὰ παντὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῆς ἐξαῖρον ἄθυμίαν, ἅτε τροφὴν ὑπερφῶ τῷ
τῶν ὁσφραντῶν ἑαυτῆς διακριτικῶς πρὸς εὐπάθειαν προσφέρουσα —,
86 τοῦτο μόνον μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεκλαλήτου φαγοῦσα, καὶ πληρώσασα τῇ
διαμασῇ πᾶσαν τὴν μονὴν ἀσυγκρίτου πάλιν τῆς εὐωδίας τὴν τε
τοῦ θείου μεγαλομάρτυρος Παντελεήμονος μνήμην ἐορτάσασα, τῇ
ἐπαύριον περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ἡμέραν ἐφάκει καὶ ἀδμονεῖν, καὶ εὐχὴν 10
εὐχὴν συνάπτουσα πυκνὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνέτεινε,
633A δάκρυα ποταμῶν προχέουσα καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἔδαφος
καταρραίνουσα καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ὄλον διάβροχον τιθεῖσα χιτῶνα, ὥστε
καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς διαταραχθεῖσας τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ
διαπορουμένας τολμᾶσαι προσελθεῖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τοσούτου 15
κλαυθμοῦ ζητῆσαι μαθεῖν. Ἡ δὲ μόλις ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀπεκρίνατο·
87 Ὑμέρον, τέκνα μου, τοῦ παρόντος ἀπάρασα βίου πρὸς ἕτερον
ἄπειμι κόσμον αἰώνιον, καὶ οὐκέτι μου τὸ πρόσωπον ὄψεσθε· ἰδοὺ
γὰρ ἡ ὥρα τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφύστηκεν ἀναλύσεως. Ἐξετε δὲ τὴν κυρὰν
Μαρίαν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ εἰς μητέρα πνευματικὴν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἄνωθεν 20
εὐδοκεῖ, καὶ καλῶς ὑμῶν αὐτὴ προστίσεται. Σπουδάσατε δὲ διὰ τῆς
στενῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τεθλιμμένης εἰς τὸ πλάτος τῆς αἰωνίου καταντῆσαι
ζωῆς. Μισήσατε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ· ματαιότης γὰρ
ματαιότητων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης. Μισήσατε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, ἵνα
ταύτας κερδήσητε, ἀντιπύπτουσαι τῷ θελήματι τούτων καὶ ἀγαπῶσαι 25
τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον θέλημα. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ κριτηρίου
προστήσεται κρινομένοις, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς ἀνιστάμενοι τοῖς σώμασι
B καὶ μηδένα τῶν συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων εὐρίσκουσαι βοηθόν, ποταπῇ
διακείσόμεθα τῇ διαθέσει ἀναλογίσασθε· μόνος γὰρ εὐρίσκεται τότε
δυνάμενος ἡμᾶς τῆς καταδίκης ἀπολῦσαι Χριστὸς ὁ κρίνων, ὁ καὶ 30

PIVLSK

3 καὶ . . . τετηρηκέναι om. L || 10 ἐνάτην IVLSK || 20 μητέραν I || 21
δὲ om. S || 24 ἵνα: ὅπως IVLSK

2 τὸν . . . μαθητὴν: cf. Io. 13,23 et sim. locc. || 10 περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην: cf. Mt. 27,46
et sim. locc. || 19 ἡ ὥρα . . . ἀναλύσεως: cf. 2 Tim. 4,6 || 21—23 διὰ . . . ζωῆς:
cf. Mt. 7,13—14 || 23 μισήσατε . . . κόσμῳ: cf. 1 Io. 2,15 || 23—24 ματαιότης
. . . ματαιότης: Eccl. 1,2 || 24—25 μισήσατε . . . κερδήσητε: cf. Io. 12,25

that venerable apple which, as the above narrative has shown,² the
beloved disciple at the bosom of Christ had sent her together with another
two, and which she had preserved by herself as an amulet—in fact she
kept it as a constant help to remove any dejection from her, for it com-
forted her with the wonderful nourishment it brought to her sense of
smell. When she with ineffable joy had but eaten this apple and by chew-
ing it again³ had filled the whole convent with its incomparable
fragrance, she celebrated the day of the divine great martyr
Panteleimon.⁴ The following day, *about the ninth hour*, she seemed to
be in anguish and distress. Joining prayer to prayer she repeatedly turned
her eyes to heaven, shedding tears in floods and wetting the floor beneath
her, soaking all her clothes. Shocked and perplexed at this strange situa-
tion, the sisters took courage to approach her and asked to learn the cause
of this lamentation. With difficulty at last she answered them, 'Today,
my children, I shall leave this life and go to another, eternal world. You
will no more see my face, for behold, *the hour of my departure is at hand*.
But you will have the mistress Maria as a spiritual mother in my stead.
That is pleasing to God on high, and she will be a good leader for you.
Hasten along the *strait and narrow way* to reach the wide plain of eternal
life. Hate the world and the things that are in the world: *vanity of vanities!*
all is vanity. Hate your souls that you may win them, resisting their will
and accepting only the will of God. There will be no advocate for us when
we are judged before the fearful tribunal. You may conclude in what
predicament we will find ourselves when we shall stand up with our bodies
naked, finding none of our kith and kin to help us. The only one who
can free us from condemnation then will be Christ the Judge, He who

² *Supra*, ch. 18.

³ Cf. *supra*, 86,5—6.

⁴ I.e. 27 July. — According to PsKodinos, *Patria*, ed. Preger 243,3 (see App. A, *supra*),
one of two churches at Chrysobalanton was dedicated to St Panteleimon. In *VI* there is
only one church, apparently with a *parekklētion* dedicated to St Theodore (cf. *infra*, note
11), and this must certainly be taken as sound information. That Panteleimon appears
in both texts, although in different roles, cannot however be mere coincidence. It would
be possible to reconcile the contradictory pieces of evidence by identifying the church of
St Panteleimon in *Patria* with the *parekklētion* in *VI*. This chapel may have been re-
dedicated when Chrysobalanton was refounded, and the choice of St Theodore, the former
general, must have been natural for members of a family with its roots in the military
nobility of Cappadocia. A link with the past was established, with this hypothesis, by
the new *ktētores* by placing Irene immediately after Panteleimon in the feast calendar.

προλέγων ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς νῦν καὶ καταφρονούμενος.⁵

- 88 Τοιαύτας καὶ τελευταίας ποιησαμένη τὰς παραινέσεις, ὄμματα καὶ χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν διάρασα, 'Κύριέ μου καὶ θεέ,' εἶπεν, 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἅντιλutron τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τοῦτό σου τὸ μικρὸν ποιμνιον. Τήρησον αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, σκέπασον αὐτὸ τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου καὶ διατήρησον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπηρεῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος ὁ ἐλεῶν καὶ σώζων, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξουσία, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ γενόμενος ἡμῖν δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις, καὶ σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ σε δοξολογοῦμεν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 'Αμήν.' Καὶ ταῦτα εὐξαμένη ἐκάθισεν καὶ ἤρξατο μειδιᾶν, οἷα δὲ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτὴν ἀγαθῶν διαδέξασθαι πολλῶν ἐν συναισθήσει γενομένη καὶ τοὺς ἀπάγοντας αὐτὴν ἀγγέλους φωτοειδεῖς ὁρῶσα καὶ ἡδομένη, οἷς δὲ πάντως καὶ φιλικῶς προσωμίλει συνεχέστατα· καὶ παραυτίκα τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἔλαμψεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Ὡς περ δὲ μεταλαβεῖν ὕπνου δόξασα μικρὸν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καλυψαμένη τὴν ἱερὰν αὐτῆς ψυχὴν ἀπέδοτο τῷ θεῷ. Καὶ εὐθέως θροῦς διηγείρετο, καὶ θρῆνος καὶ κλαυθμός καὶ ὀδυρμός πολὺς ταῖς κατὰ πνεῦμα θυγατράσιν αὐτῆς διηχείτο, καὶ συναποθανεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐθελοῦσαις αὐτῇ· τὴν γὰρ ταύτης στέρησιν οὐ φορητὴν ὅλως ἐνόμιζον.

Διαδοθείσης δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς, ἐν ἀκαριαίᾳ ῥοπῇ πᾶσα συνέρρεον πρὸς τὴν μονὴν ἢ πόλιν σχεδόν, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν χωρεῖν βιαζόμενα ταῖς εἰσόδοις τῆς πληθύος· τῶν ποταμῶν γὰρ εἰκάζετο ῥεύματα. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν συγκλητικῶν γυναῖκας ἅμα καὶ θυγατέρας ἀπολιμπανομένας ἦν ὁρᾶν τῆς συνελεύσεως· καὶ

PIV(usque ad τῆς πληθύος lin. 25)LSK

4 κύριέ μου: κύριε P || 6 ἅντιλutron: λύutron ὑπὲρ P || 14 διαδέξασθαι P || 16 συνεχέστατα om. P || ὅρα in marg. P || 17 ὁ om. I ante corr. om. V || 25—26 τῶν . . . ῥεύματα om. P

5 υἱὲ . . . ζῶντος: cf. Mt. 16,16 || ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός: Io. 10,11 || 5—6 ὁ δοὺς . . . ἅντιλutron: I Tim. 2,6 || 6—7 εἰς . . . ποιμνιον: cf. Lc. 23,46; 12,32 || 7 τήρησον . . . ὀνόματί σου: cf. Io. 17,11 || 8 τῇ . . . πτερύγων σου: cf. Ps. 16(17),8 et sim. locc. || 9—10 σοῦ . . . ἡ δύναμις: cf. Mt. 6,13 || 10—11 ὁ γενόμενος . . . ἀπολύτρωσις: cf. 1 Cor. 1,30 || 16—17 τὸ . . . ἥλιος: cf. Mt. 17,2

foretells this and urgently exhorts us, although He is now despised.'

When she had given these final instructions, she raised hands and eyes to heaven and spoke, 'My Lord and God, Jesus Christ, *Son of the living God, good Shepherd, who gave Yourself a ransom for our souls, into Thy hands I commend this little flock of Thine. Keep it through Thine own name. Hide it in the shadow of Thy wings* and protect it from the offences of the Evil One; for Thou art alone to show mercy and bring salvation, and Thine is the might and *Thine is the power*. Yes, Thou art the One who *is made unto us righteousness and sanctification and redemption*, and we thank Thee and praise Thee for ever. Amen.' After this prayer she sat down and began to smile⁵ as if she had perceived the many good things which were waiting to receive her,⁶ and seen and rejoiced at the light-like angels who would carry her away,⁷ certainly those angels with whom she had often spoken as a friend; and suddenly her *face shone as the sun*. Then she closed her eyes, as if expecting to sleep for a short while, and rendered up her holy soul to God. At once there rose a clamour, and crying and lamentation and wailing echoed loud among her spiritual daughters, willing, had it been possible, even to die with her. In their mind it was wholly intolerable to lose her.

Her death became known everywhere, and in a moment almost the whole city gathered before the convent. The forecourt would not hold them as it was pressed by the entering multitude,⁸ for they were like a streaming river. Not even wives and daughters of senators failed, as one

⁵ Cf. *VPhilat*, ed. Vasiliev 83,11—12, ἔλαμψεν ἄφνω τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἤρξατο ὑπομειδιᾶν (corresponding to Fourmy & Leroy, 159,26—27); *VASal*, PG 111, 888A, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνακλιθεῖς . . . μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα; also *VPetrArg*, ed. Cozza-Luzi 14, ch. κ', *ad fin.*; *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz 16,19; *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 26, ch. 43 (Kurtz, 25,20—21); and, more remote, Athanasios, *VAnt*, 92 (PG 26, 972B).

⁶ Cf. *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye, 209,10—11, εἰς προοίμιον . . . τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μελλούσης αὐτὸν διαδέχασθαι χαρᾶς καὶ λαμπρότητος.

⁷ Cf. *VConstlud*, ed. Delehaye 644F, ὅπ' ἀγγέλων φωτοειδῶν τὴν ψυχὴν [read ἡ ψυχὴ] ἀποφέρεται.

⁸ Cf. *VTheodorThess*, ed. Arsenij 28, ch. 47 (Kurtz, 28,3—7), ἄφνω δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν . . . ἡ φήμη [sc. of a miracle after Theodora's death] δραμοῦσα πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ θαύματος συνεκάλεσε· καὶ τοσοῦτοι . . . παρεγένοντο, ὥς μηκέτι χωρεῖν τῶν συντρεχόντων τὸ πλῆθος μηδὲ τὰ τοῦ μοναστηρίου προαύλια. The same vague phraseology as in *VI* (in a similar context) is found in *VDalm*, ed. Gedeon 148, left col., bottom, (ἀπάντων συντρεχόντων . . .) ὥστε μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν χωρεῖν τοῦ μοναστηρίου αὐτοῦ.

αὗται γὰρ πᾶσαν αἰδῶ παρωςάμεναι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὁσίας ἔθειον
λείψανον, ἀγιασμὸν ἀρύσασθαι σπεύδουσai, αἱ μὲν τῇ προσψαύσει,
αἱ δὲ καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ὁράσει, ὅσαις μὴ τῆς ἀφῆς ἢ τοῦ πλήθους παρεχώρει
φορά.

- Ὅψε δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς μόγις ὁ ὄχλος μετρίαν ἐδίδου τὴν ἄδειαν τὰ
πρὸς τὴν κηδεῖαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σώματος ἐκείνου ταῖς μοναζούσαις
ἐτοιμάσασθαι. Ἀνῆπτον δὲ λαμπάδας καὶ κηρούς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι
τῆς συγκλήτου συνεληλύθασιν ὑπὲρ ἀριθμόν, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα
μύρα τε καὶ θυμιάματα τῶν εὐωδεστάτων καὶ πολυτίμων ὑπὲρ μέτρον
634D 90 ἀφειδῶς ἀνηλίσκετο. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦν ἄρα ταῦτα τῆς ἐκ τοῦ χρωτὸς 10
αὐτῆς ἀναδιδομένης εὐωδίας ἀντισχεῖν, καίπερ ὄντα πολλά,
κεραννύμενα δὲ πῶς αὐτῇ παράδοξόν τινα καὶ τί γὰρ ἕτερον ἢ θεῖαν
τὴν ὁσμὴν ἀπετέλουν. Τιμήσαντες δὲ τὸ παρθενία καὶ ἀγιασμῷ
τετιμημένον ἐκεῖνο σῶμα, καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς τὸν
ἐνοικήσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσαντα μεγαλύναντες θεόν, τότε 15
μὲν ἐν γλωσσοκόμφῳ συνέστειλαν, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τάφον καινὸν
εὐτρεπίσαντες ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ χριστομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τῷ τῆς
μονῆς συνημμένῳ ναῷ ἐντίμως κατέθεντο, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἢ καὶ πολλῷ
θαυμασιωτέραν ἀναπέμπον εὐωδίαν, καὶ ψαλμοδαίαις πάλιν καὶ
φωταψῖαις ταύτην καταγεραίροντες τὸ μυστήριον ἐχαρακτήριζον τῆς 20
ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀποκειμένης αὐτῇ φωταγωγίας καὶ δόξης ἀνεκφράστου.
- 91 Λέγεται δὲ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον εἰς ἑκατὸν ἔτη τριῶν
δεόντων παρεκταθῆναι καὶ γνώρισμα γήρους ὁρᾶσθαι μηδὲν διὰ τὸ
τῆς παρθενίας ἄνθος τὸ ἀμάραντον. Ὁ μέντοι συγγενὴς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν
ἐρρύσατο τῶν βασιλικῶν ἢ μακαριωτάτῃ χειρῶν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἐν παντὶ 25
τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον παραγινόμενος καὶ

PIV(inc. a πάλιν lin. 19 post lacun. unius fol.)LSK

11 διαδιδομένης P || 12 ἦ: ἢ καὶ I || 14 σῶμα ἐκεῖνο inv. P || 15 ἐν αὐτῷ:
τούτῳ P || μεγαλύνοντες PLSK || 22—23 τριῶν δεόντων ἔτη inv. IVLSK ||
23 γήρως P

15 ἐνοικήσαντα . . . θεόν: cf. 2 Cor. 6,16 (Lev. 26,12)

⁹ Cf. Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 73, quoting a similar passage in Michael Attaleiates. Though apparently a literary cliché, the expression does reflect actual attitudes: such behaviour did not befit decent women.

¹⁰ Cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43, 80 (PG 36, 601B), σπουδὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκάστῳ . . . τῷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφόρου σκίμπος καὶ ψαῦσαι μόνον . . . , τῷ δὲ τῆς θεᾶς ἀπολαύσαι μόνῃς (of people at St Basil's bier).

could see, to join the crowd; no, surrendering all shame⁹ they, too, ran to the Saint's corpse, eager to win sanctification, some through contact, others, whom the pressure of the multitude did not allow to touch her, through mere sight.¹⁰

Only late at night did the crowd give the nuns some opportunity to prepare for the interment of her holy body. Lamps and candles were kindled, especially by all those of senatorial rank who had countless thronged together. Beyond measure, magnificent perfumes and incenses of the most fragrant and precious kind were unsparingly lavished upon it. Despite their multiplicity however, they could not match the fragrance that issued from her skin, but somehow mixing with it produced a scent that was amazing and—what else could it have been?—divine. After venerating the body, venerable as it was with virginity and sanctity, and with spiritual hymns and songs praising God who had *dwelled and walked* in it they shrouded it in a coffin. Soon after they prepared a new tomb in the Chapel of Theodore,¹¹ the martyr of Christ, which is annexed to the church of the convent. There they solemnly buried her, the corpse emitting the same, nay a much more wonderful fragrance. Honouring her with psalm-singing and lighting of lamps they represented the mystery of the illumination and the ineffable glory which was in store for her in heaven.

It is told that her lifetime extended over a hundred years but three¹² and that no sign of old age was seen in her: for the flower of virginity never fades. That relative however, whom the blessed woman had rescued from the Emperor's hands,¹³ continued throughout his lifetime to visit

¹¹ Normally monks and nuns were buried outside their monasteries, sometimes at a cemetery with a special funeral chapel. A tomb inside the monastery, e.g. in a *pareklētion*, as seems to be the case here (cf. note 4, *supra*), was a privilege accorded to especially distinguished members of the community, such as *klētores* and *klētorissai*, etc., and of course saints; consequently, such arrangements are often mentioned in hagiographic texts (cf., e.g., *VNicetMed*, xxxiiD; *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 921CD; *VBlasAmor*, ed. Delehaye 669A; *VLucStyl*, ed. Delehaye 233,16 ff.). For the archaeological evidence, see G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969), 40—58, and cf. the more limited discussion in A. K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή ἀρχιτεκτονική* (Athens, 1958), 146—147.

¹² Cf. A.-M. M. Talbot, 'Old Age in Byzantium', *BZ*, 77 (1984), 267—278, esp. 269 f.

¹³ *Supra*, ch. 21. For this passage, cf. Introduction, Ch. I. 3.

Ε τὴν μνήμην αὐτῆς ἐπιτελῶν λαμπρότατά τε καὶ πολυτελέστατα, καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οὕτως ἀποδιδούς ἀδιαλείπτως καὶ μεταστάση.

24. Καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ τιμία ταύτης σορὸς πάσης ὠφελείας πηγή, καὶ πᾶς τις προστρέχων αὐτῇ καὶ ὧν ἂν δέοιτο τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐτοιμοτάτην εὐρίσκει καὶ πρόσφορον, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν 5 κακίαν ὑπὲρ ἀγαθωσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ὑπὲρ τὸ λαλήσαι δικαιοσύνην εἰς δικαστήρια ἔλκονται, 'οἷς ἡττημά ἐστιν ὁλως,' κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, 'ὅτι κρίματα ἔχουσι'· φεῦ γάρ, ὅτι 'ἀδελφὸς μετὰ 92 ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται.' Καὶ 'διατί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀποστρεῖσθε,' φησὶν, 'ἀλλὰ ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστρεῖτε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀδελφούς; ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε 10 ὅτι ἄδικοι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι;' Καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι, οἷς ὁ ἥλιος παροργιζομένοις ἐπιδύεται. Τῆς γὰρ ὑπερεχούσης πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμος γενομένη καὶ τελείαν εἴληφε τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν τὴν χάριν παρ' αὐτῆς. Χριστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὃ 15 καταλλάξας ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ πολεμωθέντας διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. 'Ἀρρήτω γὰρ καὶ θεῖα δυνάμει δίδωσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον καταλλάττεσθαι τοῖς οὐ χθὲς καὶ σήμερον καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἡγριωμένοις καὶ τεθριωμένοις καὶ 20 μηδ' ἀκοῇ τὰς κλήσεις θάτερον ἀνεχομένοις ἐνωτίζεσθαι θατέρου· καὶ τοῦτο χαρίζεται τῷ πίστει προσερχομένῳ καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνακαλουμένῳ τὸν οὐ πρὸς καιρὸν παρέκλινε θεσμὸν ἐπηρεασθείς. 'Ἀγγέλων γάρ,' φησί, 'τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ συνέσει 25 τετιμημένων τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας μεταμέλεσθαι.' Καὶ εἰμὲν γε τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης τηροῦντες νόμον ταῖς αὐτῆς μεσιτείαις, ὥστε γινώσκεσθαι πᾶσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' αὐτῆς μαθητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῇ μὲν θεότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. 'Ἀμήν.

PIVLSK

11 ἐκεῖνος L || 19 ἐνεχομένοις P || 22 ἀνθρώπων: τῇ ἀνθρώπων VL

5—6 τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν . . . δικαιοσύνην: cf. Ps. 51(52), 5 || 7—11 1 Cor. 6, 6—9 || 12 οἷς . . . ἐπιδύεται: cf. Eph. 4, 26 || 12—13 τῆς γὰρ . . . εἰρήνης: cf. Phil. 4, 7 || 14 Χριστὸς . . . ἡμῶν: cf. Eph. 2, 14 || 14—15 ὃ καταλλάξας ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ: cf. 2 Cor. 5, 18 || 25—28 ὃ . . . 'Ἀμήν': cf. Heb. 13, 21

her tomb and commemorate her in a most splendid and lavish way, thus incessantly offering thanks to her even when she was dead.

24. Irene the Peacemaker

Even now her revered coffin is a source of every kind of benefit, and everyone approaching it in search of the cure of whatever his prayers include, will find it ready and helpful, especially such as are dragged into court by people who love *evil more than good* and *lying rather than to speak righteousness*. 'To have lawsuits at all is defeat for them,' according to the divine Apostle. Yes, it is a shame that 'brother goeth to law with brother.' 'Why do ye not rather take wrong,' he continues, 'but do wrong and defraud, and that your brethren? Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?' Again the same applies to those upon whose wrath the sun goes down. For being named after the *peace which passeth all understanding*, she had received from her in full measure the gift of making peace. Yes, Christ is our peace, He who hath reconciled us to Himself by the cross when we had been made His enemies by sin. With ineffable and divine power He will, above reason, let people be reconciled with each other, people who not only since yesterday and today and the day before yesterday, but even for a long period have been angry and brutal to each other and have not endured even to hear each other's names. This He will confer on whomsoever approaches Him in faith and recalls the commandment of love from which he, deceived, did momentarily deviate. For 'it is for angels not to sin', as the saying goes, 'but for men endowed with reason to repent when they do sin'.¹ So may we observe the law of love through her intercession, that it be known to all that through her we are disciples of Christ, to whom is due all *glory*, honour and veneration, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the one Godhead and Kingdom, now and *for ever and ever*. Amen.

24. ¹ Cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 40, 7 (PG 36, 365BC), τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως, . . . τῆς ἀγγελικῆς . . . , τὸ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπινον.

APPENDIX C: The *Akolouthia*

Introductory Note

In the MSS V and I the text of *VI* is accompanied by an *akolouthia* for Irene's day. The two texts, although largely corresponding in content, differ greatly from each other in their arrangement of the material and to some extent also in regard to what material they include. Unfortunately, extensive sections of the *akolouthia* of V, which is the older MS, are in a hopelessly bad condition due to severe damage of some of the fols. involved and probably even loss of one or more fols. (cf. *supra*, Introduction, Chapter II.1). Under these circumstances it seemed futile to attempt a reconstruction of the text of V as well as of a possible model common to both MSS. Instead, since the MS I presents this modest piece of liturgical poetry in a form that is complete as it stands, fairly sound, and regularly structured, the following edition will be based on I, under comparison with the corresponding sections of V where possible.

To give the reader an idea of the structural differences between the two versions, a brief outline of the version of V, as far as it can be ascertained, will first be presented.¹

The text of V appears to be dominated by two canons. The first, which is absent from I, is only partly legible. The second, which ends the text, is identical with the canon in I (*troparia* 4—23). It stops however after the sixth ode (trop. 23), so that we must assume a loss of fols. at the end of the MS. The two canons are preceded by two *kathismata*, the first of which (εἰς τὸ Θεὸς κύριος) is absent from I, whereas the second corresponds to the *kontakion* after the sixth ode of I's canon (trop. 24—26); further two *stichera*, corresponding to trop. 39—41 and 1—3 of I, respectively; and finally two seemingly isolated *troparia* of which the first lacks correspondence in I whereas the second corresponds to the final trop. 44 of I. Between the last two *troparia* a loss of fols. must be postulated since the first of them ends abruptly in the middle of a word.

¹ To facilitate comparison with V the *troparia* of the *akolouthia* of I have been individually numbered (1—44).

Thus, if the *troparia* of V are numbered with Roman figures, the *akolouthia* of V and its relationship to that of I may be illustrated with the following table:

I—III (Κάθισμα εἰς τὸ Θεὸς κύριος)
IV—VI (Ἄλλο [sc. κάθισμα]) = 24—26
VII—IX (Στιχηρὸν εἰς τοὺς αἴνους) = 39—41
X—XII (Στιχηρὸν εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον) = 1—3
XIII
[loss of fols.]
XIV = 44 [preceded by 42, 43?]
XV—XXXVII (canon 1)
XXXVIII—LXVII (canon 2) = 4—23
[loss of fols.]

Canon 1 had an acrostic of which only a part is legible: Η.ΘΟΣ ΣΟΙ ΛΕΛΕΚΤΑΙ ΜΕΤ Τ. . . (XV—XXXIV).

ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΒΑΛΑΝΤΟΥ

Στιχηρὸν εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον ἤχος πλ. δ' ὦ τοῦ
παραδόξου θαύματος

1. Κállος ὄραν τὸ ἀμήχανον ἀξιοθεῖσα τρανῶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ νυμφίου σου, τὰς ἐλλάμψεις δέχεσθαι ὡς θειότατον ἔσοπτρον ἱκανωθεῖσα, καὶ ὡς ἰσάγγελος ἀντανακλάσεις τοῖς σε γεραίρουσι πέμπεις, θεόληπτε, καὶ ψυχὰς φωτίζουσα τὴν ζοφερὰν τρέπεις ἐκδιώκουσα τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀχλύν.
2. Ὡς περ λαμπάδα ὀλόφωτον ἢ θαυμαστή σε πασῶν βασιλεύουσα πόλεων κτησαμένη, χάρισι δαδουχεῖται καὶ γέγηθεν αὐγαζομένη καὶ ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν θαυμασίων σου, παμμακάριστε ἦν εἰρηνεύουσα μὴ ἐλλίποισ πάντοτε ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν θείαις σου ἐντεύξεσιν, Εἰρήνη, πάνσεμνε.

1, tit. θαύματος om. V || 2,5 πάνσεμνε: παμμακάριστε V

3. Νήφειν αἰεὶ σου τὸ ποίμνιον, ἐν προσευχαῖς ἀγρυπνεῖν, ἐν ἀγνείᾳ φυλάττεσθαι, ἐν ἀγάπῃ τέρπεσθαι, τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσπάζεσθαι, ἐν ἐγκρατεῖᾳ δὲ διευθύνεσθαι καὶ κατανύξει ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι, θύειν τε, πρέσβευε, συντριβὴν, ταπείνωσιν, τῷ ἀγαθῷ λόγῳ καὶ θεῷ ἡμῶν θυσίαν ἁμωμον.

⟨ Ὡδὴ α' ⟩ ἤχος πλ. δ' ὕγρὰν διοδεύσας ὥσει ξηράν

4. Τὸ κάλλος ὄρῳσα τὸ θαυμαστὸν Χριστοῦ, ᾧ παρέστης στολισθεῖσα ἐκ δεξιῶν χρυσοῖς κροσσωτοῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν σου, καὶ τῶν τιμώντων σε πίστει μνημόνευε.
5. Ἀνδρείῳ φρονήματι καὶ στερρῷ ἀρπάσασα πάσης προσπαθείας τὸν λογισμόν, ἀγάπης καὶ σχέσεως τοῦ κόσμου, προσεκολλήθης Χριστῷ τῷ νυμφίῳ σου.
6. Χρανθῆναι τοῦ βίου ταῖς ἡδοναῖς οὐδ' ὅλως ἠνέσχου τὴν ψυχὴν σου παρθενικῶς ὠραιζομένη τε πανάγως τῷ δὲ Χριστῷ ἐνυμφεύθης ὡς ἁμωμος.

⟨ Θεοτοκίον ⟩

7. Ἠλάθη θανάτου τὸ ἀμειδὲς ζωῇ ἐκ γαστροῦ σου ἐνυπόστατος γὰρ θεὸς προήλθεν ἀφράστως, Θεοτόκε, ἀνακαινίζων, παρθένε, τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν.

⟨ Ὡδὴ γ' ⟩

8. Ὑπελθοῦσα γενναίως ὡς ἐκλεκτὴ δάμαλις δόξαν τὸν ζυγὸν προξενούντα τὴν ἐπουράνιον εἴλκυσας, τοῦτον χρηστὸν καὶ ἐλαφρὸν τὸ φορτίον τοῦ κυρίου δείξασα τῇ προθυμίᾳ σου.
9. Νεκρωθεῖσα τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς σαρκὸς πάθεσιν ὅλη πρὸς Χριστὸν ἐξεδήμησας, ὃν ἠγάπησας καὶ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τὸ ταπεινὸν τε καὶ πρᾶον κτησαμένη εὐρηκας θείαν ἀνάπαυσιν.
10. Οὐδαμῶς τὰ ὀπίσω ἀφ' οὗ τὴν σὴν ἐβαλες χεῖρα, σεβασμία Εἰρήνη, εἶδες ἐπ' ἄροτρον, ὅθεν ὡς εὐθετος εἰς οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν διεσώθης χάριτι τοῦ Παντοκράτορος.

〈Θεοτοκίον〉

11. Οὐρανὸς ἀνεδείχθης ὑπερφυῶς λάμπασα τῆς δικαιοσύνης, παρθένε, Χριστὸν τὸν ἥλιον, δι' οὗ ἠλάθη σκότος τῆς ἀγνοσίας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐπέφανε φῶς ἐπιγνώσεως.

〈 Ὡδὴ δ' 〉

12. Νυσταγμὸν σοῖς βλεφάροις οὐκ ἔδωκας ἕως οὗ καταγώγιον ἐγένου γνῶσιν διδάσκουσα, σύνεσιν καὶ τὸ ψάλλειν· δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου, κύριε.
13. Ἡ σοφία θεοῦ ἡ πολύτροπος ἐπιτηδεῖαν σε προορῶσα τοῦ ποιμαίνειν, τοῦτο μεμήνυκε στόματι τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωαννικίου σοι πνεύματι.
14. Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος χειροθεσία σε προχειρίζεται, προγνόντος σκευδός σε τίμιον πνεύματος καὶ βοῶσαν· δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου, κύριε.

〈Θεοτοκίον〉

15. “Ἰλασμόν μου τὸν τόκον σου ἐπιγινώσκουσα καὶ σωτήρα καὶ θεόν μου, τοῦτον ἐπόθησα”, ἔλεγες εὐχαρίστως τῇ θεογεννήτορι λέγουσα.

Ὡδὴ ε'· ἵνατί με ἀπώσω

16. Νηφαλέους ἀγρύπνους σώφρονας ἀγνὰς ἀγαθὰς ταπεινόφρονας, τὴν πραότητά σου μιμουμένας, Εἰρήνη, ἐδίδασκες λογικὰς ἀμνάδας ἃς ἐπιστεύθης τοῦ ποιμαίνειν συνιστῶσα Χριστῷ, ὃν πεφίληκας.
17. Ὡραιώθης κάλλει ὅπερ ἂν ἤρμωστο ἀνδρὶ· τὰς ἀμνάδας σου συμβουλαῖς ἐνθέοις προετρέπετο σοφία τῶν λόγων σου καὶ ταῖς πράξεσί σου· ὅτι ὥραιος παρὰ πάντας καὶ ψυχὰς καλλωπίζειν δυνάμενος.

16,4 Χριστῷ, ὃν scripsi: Χριστόν, ὥς I || 17,1 ὥραιώθησαν I || ὥσπερ I || 2 προετρέπετο: προτροπῇ I

18. Νοητῶν ἀπὸ λύκων θρέμματα τὰ σὰ προσευχαῖς σου καὶ δάκρυσιν ὁλονύκτω στάσει γρηγοροῦσα ἐτήρεις ἀλώβητα· καὶ ποιοῦντας μάτην τούτους ἐδείκνυς καὶ δηλοῦσι κομιοῦσαι μαγεῖαί σοι πόρρωθεν.

〈Θεοτοκίον〉

19. Ὁρατῶς ὑπὲρ λόγον ἔτεκες, παρθένε, θεὸν τὸν ἀόρατον· διὸ εὐσεβοῦντες προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκώσεως τὴν σεπτὴν εἰκόνα ἅμα τῇ σῇ, θεοκυῆτορ, ἰλασμόν τῶν πταισμάτων αἰτούμενοι.

Ὡδὴ στ'· ἰλάσθητί μοι σωτήρ

20. Ἐπάρασά σου τὸν νοῦν εἰς ὕψος τὸ ἐπουράνιον καὶ δύναμιν θεϊκὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐμπνεύσασαν λαβοῦσα, κατήσχυνας τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου μηχανῶν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.
21. Μετείληφας ὁπωρῶν τοῦ παραδείσου ὥς ἄφθορος παρθένος παρθενικαῖς χερσίν, ἃς σοι πέπομφεν ὁ μένων, ὥς εἴρηται τῷ θεῷ καὶ λόγῳ, Ἰωάννης ἕως ἔρχεται.
22. Ὑλώδους πάσης ὁρῶν ἐπιθυμίας σε ἄψαυστον, ᾧ τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ ἡτοίμασται φλέγει σου τὰς σάρκας, οὐ φέρων σε ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς σου πυρπολοῦσαν προσευχαῖς αὐτόν.

〈Θεοτοκίον〉

23. Συνεἴληφας ἀληθῶς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐν μήτρᾳ σου, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερφυῶς, πανάμωμε, τέτοκας· ὃν λιταῖς ἰλέωσαι τῶν κινδύνων πάντας ἐκλυτρώσασθαι τοὺς δούλους σου.

18,4 μαγεῖαις V
21,2—3 Cf. Io. 21,22

Κάθισμα· ἤχος πλ. δ'· τὴν σοφίαν καὶ λόγον

24. Ἀποστᾶσα, παρθένε, τῆς κοσμικῆς ματαιότητος πάσης πανευλαβῶς, τὰ θεῖα ἐζήτησας καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπεπόθησας καὶ ἀγγέλοις, μήτερ ὁσία, ἐφάμιλλον ἐπεδείξω βίον ἀνδρείῳ φρονήματι, ὅθεν καὶ προφητὶς καὶ τεράτων ἐργάτις, Εἰρήνη, γεγένησαι ἐνεργεῖα τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐν σοὶ ἐνοικήσαντος· πρέσβευε †Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ τῶν†.

Κοντάκιον· ἤχος β'· τὰ ἄνω ζητῶν

25. Εἰρήνη θεοῦ, Εἰρήνη, σοὶ δεδῶρηται, δακρύων πολλῶν καὶ πίστεως ἀντάμειψις· καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος υἰοθεσίας ὡς παρθένος ἡξίωσαι, τοῖς τιμῶσί σε, πάνσεμνε, ψυχὰς μαχομένων εἰρηνεύουσα.

Ὁ οἶκος

26. Τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρήνην λαβοῦσα δῶρον τέλειον, ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄντως ὡς πηγῆς ἀντλοῦσά τε καὶ ἀρδεύουσα, μήτερ ὁσία, τοὺς ἐν τῇ ζέσει τοῦ θυμοῦ φλεγομένους καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀργιζομένους εἰκὴ ἀναψύχεις· διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν ἰκέτευε, θειοτάτη, σταθῆράν τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν κατάστασιν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διάγειν· οὐ γὰρ παύη, σεμνή, ταῖς πρεσβείαις σου ψυχὰς μαχομένων εἰρηνεύουσα.

⟨ Ὡδὴ ζ' ⟩

27. Ἦρας πρὸς κύριον τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐξέτεινας εἰς ἄκρον ἐν εὐχαΐς σου, καὶ ὁρῶσαι αὐτὰς μηκέτι ἀψαμένην καθυποκλῖναι πάλιν σε ἐξεπλήττοντό σου τέκνα.
28. Θαῦμα παράδοξον ὥραθι· ἐπὶ γῆς γάρ σου κειμένης εὐχομένης κορυφὰς ἑαυτῶν κατέκλινον τὰ δένδρα ἕως ἐδάφους, αὐτὴς δὲ συνανίσταντό σοι ταῦτα.

24, tit. τὴν . . . λόγον om. V || καὶ λόγον correxi: τοῦ I || 1 παρθένε: προθύμως V || 5 τοῦ² . . . ἐνοικήσαντος om. I || 6 τῶν: add: πταισμάτων (?) V

29. Ἦσθης ὁρῶσα ὑπὲρ λόγον ἦν προσήγοναί κυπάρισσοι τιμὴν σοι, καὶ ἀγναῖς σου χερσὶν ἀνήρτησας ἐπ' ἄκρου τῶν κορυφῶν ὑφάσματα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπευλογοῦσα.

⟨Θεοτοκίον⟩

30. Εὐας τῆς πάλαι τὴν κατάραν μεταβέβληκας, ἀγνή, πρὸς εὐλογίαν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ γεννήσασα, ᾧ πάντες 'εὐλογητὸς εἶ', κράζομεν, 'ὁ θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας'.

Ὡδὴ η'· ἑπταπλασίως κάμινον

31. Σὺν ἀσωμάτοις τάξεσιν τὸν θεὸν θεραπεύουσαν βλέποντες ἐν σώματι φθαρτῷ σοι ἄγγελοι προδήλως ὀπτάνονται ὡς σύ, στολὴν ποιοῦντες σεπτῶν καὶ θεουργικῶν καὶ μυστικῶν τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ θεῖᾳ δωρημάτων, ἅπερ ἔμφασιν ἔχει μελλόντων μυστηρίων θεῷ ἐσφραγισμένων.
32. Προφητικῷ χάρισματι κοσμηθεῖσα, θεόληπτε, διορατικῶς τε κεκρυμμένα βλέπουσα, θανάτους προέλεγες καὶ τὰς ἐκβάσεις τῶν δυσχερῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ συμβαινόντων πραγμάτων ἐκάστῳ μελωδοῦσα· ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε, λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας.
33. Ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καθεύδοντα βασιλέα διῶπνισας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ προφανῶς σε βλέποντα, καὶ τούτῳ ἠπειλήσας ἡδικημένον λῦσαι δεσμῶν· καὶ σε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιγνοὺς ἦτις ἦσθα, τὴν αἴγλην τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ σταλέντας μὴ φέρειν εἰς γῆν τε πεπτωκότας ἐξίστατο μαθὼν σου.

⟨Θεοτοκίον⟩

34. Ἀγιασθεῖσα πνεύματι, Θεοτόκε πανύμνητε, οὕτως ὑπεδέξω ἐν γαστρὶ τὸν ἀναρχον υἱὸν καὶ αἰδῖον ἐν σοι, ἀγνή, σαρκούμενον ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῶν ἐν πίστει βοώντων· οἱ παῖδες, εὐλόγησον.

31, tit. η' . . . κάμινον correxi: ἑπταπλασίῳ, ut vid. I

ᾠδὴ θ´· ἔφριξε πᾶσα ἀκοή

35. ῥίψασα πέλας τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ψυχὴν σου τῷ θεῷ ἀφιέρωσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν ἐπιποθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ποθοῦμενον· ἐπεὶ τὸ τέλος σου χαρὰς μαθοῦσα πεπλήρωσαι, ἐγνώσθης ἔνθεος τοῦ προσώπου σου φαιδρῶς ὑπερλάμπαντος.
36. Ἄρρητα ἄπερ σοι, σεμνή, προητοίμασε θεὸς ὁ καλέσας σε πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια τῆς οὐρανίου δόξης, μὴ ἔχουσιν ῥυτίδα, σπῖλον, ἀλλ´ ἄγνην παρθένον τηρήσας, καὶ θριαμβεύσας ἐν σοι τὴν τοῦ ὀφεισθέντος ἰσχύν, ἣν ἐπάτησας.
37. Στάζει σου θεῖον γλυκασμόν, ψυχικὴν δὲ θυμηδίαν προτρέπεται καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν ἢ σεβασμῷ σορὸς πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ, Εἰρήνη, βραβεύουσα τῇ μεσιτείᾳ σου ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν πιστῶς προστρεχόντων σοι.
38. Ὑπακοὴ σοὶ πάντων τῇ χαρᾷ Γαβριὴλ νυμφαγωγῶν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος θεοχαρίτω τε τῇ Θεοτόκῳ χαίρων ἐκόμισε, δι´ ἧς τὰ σύμπαντα χαρὰς ἐπλήσθη, θεόνυμφε, χαρὰ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, σωτηρία καὶ τιμὴ τῶν τιμώντων σε.

Στιχηρὸν εἰς τοὺς αἶνους· ἤχος δ´· ὡς γενναῖον

39. Καὶ ὁ βίος σου ἄμεμπτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἰσάγγελος, ἡ ζωὴ σου ἔνθεος καὶ θεόληπτος, ἡ πολιτεία οὐράνιος, ἡ γνώμη φιλόανθρωπος καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα σου χρηστά, ἡ συνείδησις ἔμπλεως ἀγαθότητος καὶ εὐθύτητος πάσης· διὰ τοῦτο βασιλείας οὐρανίου ἀξιοχρέως τετύχηκας.
40. Ὁμοιωθῆς τῷ φοίνικι· οἱ μαστοὶ σου ὡς βότρυες· ἡ γραφὴ προέγραψε τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς σου, ἀοίδιμε, δι´ ἧς τὰ ὑψώματα ἀναβάσας τοῦ θεοῦ μυστικῶς κατενόησας καὶ ἐπλούτησας προφητείας τὴν χάριν τοῦ προβλέπειν καὶ προλέγειν τῆς προνοίας θεοπρεπῶς τὰ ἐσόμενα.

41. Νυμφικῶς κατεκόσμησε θεῖκαίς σε λαμπρότησιν ὁ ὥραϊος κάλλει ὃν ἐπεπόθησας· καὶ στολισθεῖσα χαρίσμασιν, Εἰρήνη, παρίστασαι τῷ ἀστέκτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης θρόνῳ, ὡς ἄμωμος τὸν ποιμένα σου καὶ θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην καθορῶσα Ἰησοῦν τὸν σὸν νυμφίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου πρεσβεύουσα.

Ἰδιόμελον

42. Τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀγνείας σου χρῆμα ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ φυλάξασα, νύμφη Χριστοῦ ἐχρημάτισας, Εἰρήνη· ἀειμακάριστε, σώματος μὲν κάλλος ἀσκητικοῖς πόνοις μαράνασα, ψυχὴν δὲ ὠραιώσασα τῇ εὐμορφίᾳ τῆς χάριτος· ἀλλ´ αἰτησαι, Εἰρήνη, τοῖς εὐφημοῦσί σε, ὡς εἰρήνης ὄνομα καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα.
43. Ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν ὄρει ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐκεῖ κατεσκήνωσεν ἡ ἀγία, τὴν λαμπάδα ἁσβεστον τηρήσασα· ἀκούσωμεν τῆς παρθένου ἐγκώμιον· ὦ παρθενία ναὸς θεοῦ, ὦ παρθενία ἀγίων δόξα, ὦ παρθενία ἀγγέλων συμμετόχε.

ἤχος πλ. β´

44. Ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος παρέστης παρθενίαν διηνητισμένη, Εἰρήνη, περιβεβλημένη καταστολὴν θεοῦφαντον καὶ πεποι- κιλμένη χαρίσμασιν ἐνθέοις καὶ τοῖς πόνοις σου τῆς ἀσκήσεως· καὶ βοῶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει τὴν λαμπάδα κατέχουσα εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρου σου ἑδραμον· Ὑποταγὴ ὁ θεός, ὅτι τέτρωμαι τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦ κάλλους σου, νυμφίε ἐπουράνιε· αὐτῆς ταῖς ἰκεσίαις κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν, παντοδύναμε σωτήρ, τὰ ἐλέη σου.

36,3 τηρήσασα I || 37,2 an scr. ἐκπορεύεσθαι?

36,2 Cf. Eph. 5,27 || 38,1 Cf. Lc. 1,26—28 || 40,1 Cf. Cant. 7,8—9

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B: Other Texts

<i>ActAnastPers</i> = <i>Acta martyris Anastasii Persae</i> (BHG ³ 84, 88—90), ed. H. Usener (Bonn, 1894)	<i>ApophthPatr</i> = <i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i> , PG 65, 71 ff.
14—20	96C
15a,15 ff.	97C
15b,1 ff.	105CD
Anonymus	Athanasios of Alexandria
<i>De alimentis</i> (Π. χυμῶν, βρωμάτων καὶ πομάτων), ed. I.L. Ideler, <i>Physici et medici graeci minores</i> , vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1842), 257—281	<i>VAnt</i> = <i>Vita Antonii</i> , PG 26, 835 ff.
ch. 43 (p. 272) 76,3	845C ff.
	913A
	960B
	972B
	Basil of Caesarea

<i>De renuntiatione saeculi</i> , PG 31, 625 ff.	Gregory of Nyssa
648AB	<i>VMos</i> = <i>Vita Mosis</i>
<i>Epistulae</i> , ed. Y. Courtonne (Paris, 1957—1961)	II 94 (PG 44, 353 B)
XLVI, 2,31	2,10—11
(vol. 1,118)	<i>HMonAeg</i> = <i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i> , ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels, 1971) (SubsHag 53)
<i>Homilia in Ps. 33</i> , PG 29, 349 ff.	II 9
373B	84,8
Constantine Porphyrogenetos	VIII 5
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551,4	84,8
60,10	X 21—22
Cyril of Scythopolis	84,8
<i>VtoSab</i> = <i>Vita Ioannis Sabaitae</i> (BHG ³ 897), ed. E. Schwartz, <i>Kyrrillos von Skythopolis</i> (Leipzig, 1939) (TU 49:2), 201 ff.	Ignatius of Antioch
211,1—14	<i>Epistula ad Romanos</i>
84,8	4,1
<i>De Theophili imperatoris benefactis</i> : see <i>NarrTheophilAbs</i>	46,23
<i>Euchologion</i> , ed. J. Goar (Venice, 1730)	Isidore of Pelusion
383	<i>Epistulae</i> (PG 78)
34,20—21	IV 63 (1121A)
Gregory of Nazianzus	2,8
<i>Oratio 24</i> (in <i>S. Cyprianum</i>), PG 35, 1169 ff.	V 108 (1388C)
1176B	10,3
1180C	John Chrysostom
1185B	<i>Homilia 27 in Genesin</i>
<i>Oratio 38</i> (in <i>Theophanian</i>), PG 36, 312 ff.	10 (PG 53,147)
313B	4,16
64,19	<i>Homilia 31 in Ioannem</i>
<i>Oratio 40</i> (in <i>sanctum baptisma</i>), PG 36, 360 ff.	4 (PG 59, 180)
365BC	4,6—8
112,22—23	Leo VI
<i>Oratio 43</i> (in <i>S. Basilium</i>), PG 36, 493 ff.	<i>Funeral Oration on Basil I</i> , edd. A. Vogt & I. Hausherr, <i>OC</i> , 26, 1 (1932)
513D	52,27—54,12
66,16—17	xxv
536C	<i>MartPolyc</i> = <i>Martyrium Polycarpi</i>
560A	15,2
564A	48,7—8
568A	<i>Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον</i> , ed. P. N. Trempe- las, 2 vols. (Athens, 1950. 1955)
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33,59—60 (PG 37, 932A)	138—139
42,19	84,22 ff.
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	5,5 ff.
	62,17
	24,2 ff.
	62,17
	61,21 ff.
	62,17
	62,18 ff.
	58,9 ff.
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 VII 3 (253) 62,17
 XXXVI (322 ff.) 62,17
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 48,11 62,17
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 25,24 4,1—2
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Patria Kōnstantinoupoleōs, ed. Th. Preger: *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1907)
 204,5 ff. lxxii
 233,9—11 lxxii
 243,1—12 lxxviii f.
 243,3 106,9
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Chronographia, Bonn ed. (1838)
 648,3 2,17—18
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 713,11 ff. lxxii
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 4,8—16 74,18
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 34,59 ff. 84,8
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 854,13—15 xxviii
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 1—3 4,21—22
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 82 64,16
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 253,29 16,20—23
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 XXIX 6 46,25 ff.
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 208,3—4 52,1
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VASal = *Vita Andreae Sali* (*BHG*³ 117), PG 111, 628 ff.; *Appendixes*, ed. L. Rydén (forthcoming) -
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VBlun = *Vita Basilii iunioris* (*BHG*³ 263, 264), quoted by fols. in cod. Mosqu. Synod. gr. 249 (Vladimir, 402); fols. 2—66^v ed. S.G. Vilinskij (Odessa, 1911) (Imp. Novoross. Univ., *Zapiski*, 7), 283 ff.
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 658E 14,5
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VConstIud = *Vita Constantini Iudaei* (BHG³ 370), ed. H. Delehaye, tom. cit., 628 ff.
 634A 16,10
 638EF ff. 10,2—3
 644F 108,14—15
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 413A—C 10,2—3
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 209,10—11 108,13—14
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VPetrAtr = *Vita Petri Atroensis* (BHG³ 2364), ed. V. Laurent (Brussels, 1956) (SubsHag 29)
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 16 (ch. 26; Kurtz 15,35 f.) xxxiii
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 30 (ch. 50; Kurtz 30,4 ff.) 62,17
 30 f. (ch. 51; Kurtz 30,14 ff.) 58,9 ff.

VTheodSyc = *Vita Theodori Syceotae*
(*BHG*³ 1748), ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2
vols. (Brussels, 1970) (SubsHag 48)
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VTheophan = *Vita Theophanous*
(*BHG*³ 1794), ed. E. Kurtz, *MASP*,
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20,15 ff. 58,9 ff.
VThomLesb = *Vita Thomaidis Lesbiae*
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236B 14,15—16

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οὐδεις ἀνθρώπων ἱκανὸς ἀντιστρατεύσασθαι τῷ πονηρῷ, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ σκέπῃ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων προσπεφυγῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πίστεως τὸν ἐχθρὸν κατατοξεύσῃ καὶ καταβάλῃ
20,20—23

Greek Index: Vocabulary and Names

References are to page and line of the Greek text. Italics indicate that the word is treated in a note on the respective passage. An asterisk marks words not found in the dictionaries of Demetrakos (*Μέγα λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 9 vols. [Athens, 1933—1951]), Du Cange (*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* [Lyon, 1688; repr., Paris, 1943]), Koumanoudes (*Συναγωγή λέξεων ἀθησαυρίστων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς λεξικοῖς* [Athens, 1883]), Lampe, LSJ (with *Supplement*), Sophocles, and the *TGL*. I. = Irene.

ἀγαθός: τὰ ἀ. awaiting after death 28,9, 32,25 (αἰώνια), 28, 42,5, 46,23, 102,15 (αἰώνια), 108,13.
ἀγαθότης 36,25 (θεία).
ἀγαλλίασις 16,1 (πνευματική), 84,20, 100,25.
ἀγάπη: τὸ τῆς ἀ. ἐξαίρετον 22,26; ὁ τῆς ἀ. νόμος 42,1, 90,4, 112,24, or θεσμός 112,20; σου . . . ἡ ἀ. in address 82,2; cf. ὁμόνοια.
ἀγάπησις (καὶ φιλάνθρωπία) 36,19.
ἀγγελικός 16,24 (cf. παράστασις), 32,4 (cf. βίωσις).
ἄγγελος 24,20, 34,21, 38,4, 40,1, 11, 42,23 (cf. φρίττω), 46,25, 70,24, 86,12, 104,25, 108,15.
ἀγιάζω 98,14, 26.
ἀγίασμα, pl. *sacraments* 84,14.
ἀγιασμός 110,2, 13 (παρθενία καὶ ἀγιασμῷ).
ἅγιος; οἱ ἅ. 6,20 (*holy fathers*), 20,18, 31; ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ 26,27; of St Mamas 50,29; ἡ ἀγία, of I. 72,18; τὰ ἅ. *the sacraments* 70,2; *al.*; cf. εἰκὼν, πέμπτη, πνεῦμα, σορός.
ἀγιότης: ἡ σὴ ἀ. in address 26,21, 82,23.
ἀγνεία: τὴν ἀ. καὶ τὸν ἀγιασμόν 34,25; ἀ. is ὑπὲρ φύσιν 36,11; 36,26.
ἀγνίζω: ἀγνισθεῖσα ψυχὴ 36,23.
ἀγνωμοσύνη: ἀγνωμοσύνης χεῖρονα τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἀπέδωκας 48,3.
ἀγορά: ἀγορῶν τε πόρρω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχλήσεων ὠκισμένη, of Chrysobalanton 14,3.
ἄγος 14,5.
ἀγρυπνέω 36,20, 54,16; cf. ἐπαγρυπνέω.
ἀγρυπνία 6,19.
ἀγών, ascetic 18,5, 20, 20,6.
ἀγωνία: see φόβος.
ἀγώνισμα: τὸ ἔργον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀ. 34,23.
Ἀδάμ expelled from Paradise, etc. 72,4.

ἀδελφή, of nuns 16,15, 24,17, 26,15 etc.; of I. and her sister 8,18, 50,1, 3, 15; ἄ. φιλτάτη, St Anastasia to I. 68,18.
 ἀδελφότης, of the nuns 16,13, 56,6.
 ἀδιάλειπτος 16,1.
 ἀδιαλείπτως 74,15, 112,2.
 ἀδικία defined as πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν 34,18.
 ἀδίκως 90,2, 13.
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 ἀδυναμία of the demons explained 72,19.
 ἀδύνατος: τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον 82,10.
 ἄδω 86,2.
 ἀειθαλής: ἐγγήγορσις ἄ. 16,1.
 ἄεριος: προσευχομένην ἄεριον (levitating) 76,16.
 ἄηρ: tinged with sweet scents 58,1, 84,10; St Anastasia and St Basil were seen ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄ. ἱπτάμενοι 60,21; a package came down ἐκ τοῦ ἄ. 60,24; cf. εὐκράτως.
 ἀήττητος: ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀρρεπῆ καὶ ἄ. ἐστηκυῖαν 46,16.
 ἄθεσί: μηδ' ἄ. τὴν προθυμίαν . . . εἶναι 18,1.
 αἰδῖος: ζῶν ἄ. καὶ ἀτελεύτητον 32,24.
 αἰδώς: πᾶσαν αἰδῶ παρωσάμεναι 110,1.
 αἶμα of Christ 30,21, 64,23, 72,22.
 αἵρεσις: i.e. Iconoclasm 26,8 (cf. καταλύτης); τὰς αἰ. καὶ τὰ σχίσματα as works of the Devil 72,11.
 αἰρετικός i.e. iconoclastic 6,21, 28.
 αἴσθησις: ἐν αἰσθήσει γινόμεναί τινος 84,18; cf. συναίσθησις.
 αἰσθητός, opp. ἀφανής 70,11.
 αἰφνίδιος: ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου 94,27.
 αἰών: εἰς αἰῶνα 44,1.
 αἰώνιος: τῆς ἀποκειμένης αἰ. . . καταδίκης 6,8; ἀκηράτων αἰ. ἀγαθῶν 32,25; τὴν αἰ. . . ζῶν τὴν ἀκήρατον 64,27, w. ζωή also 106,22; ἕτερον . . . κόσμον αἰ. 106,18.
 ἀκαθαρσία 42,10, 64,27.
 ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα 70,17.
 ἄκαιρος: see εὖνοια.
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 ἄν: w. ind. praeterit., irreal. or potential. 38,20—21, 46,8, 68,8, 70,25, 72,14, 78,27, 88,4, 90,3, 104,17; w. opt., mostly potential. 10,2, 24,29, 34,23, 40,3, 58,3, 66,20, 68,26, 80,25, 92,23, 112,4; w. inf. 24,16 (ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθησθε μὴ ἄν . . . ἀποβλέψαι), 78,30 (παραγγεῖαν ἐδέξατο μὴ ἄν . . . ἐκκαλύψαι); without verb 64,29 (κακοῦργος ἦπερ ἄν τις κλέπτων. . .); ὥς ἄν w. part. 78,14.
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ἄργυρος: icons were made χαλκῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ 4,1.
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 αὐτουργός: θαυμάτων αὐ. (Methodios) 26,9.
 ἀφανής: ἀφανῶν λυομένη δεσμῶν 62,21, sim., σειραῖς ἀφανέσι . . . κρατημένος 70,11.

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 Βάρδας, brother of Empress Theodora, appointed Caesar in 864: married I's sister 8,20, 50,2; cf. καῖσαρ.
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 βιάζομαι: ὁ λόγος δὲ βιάζεται . . . οὐκ ἐπικρύπτει 100,27.
 βίος: saint's *Life* 2,1, 16,18 (τῶν πατέρων), 19 (of Arsenios); ascetic 12,20 (cf. ἡσύχιος), 32,20; earthly 10,10, 22,18 (μεταμεῖψαι τὸν β. πρὸς τὸ θεάρεστον), 28,9 (τοῖς εὐὴ κακῶς τὸν β. ἐνταῦθα διανύουσιν), 42,4 (τὴν τοῦ β. ματαιότητα), 12, 44,8, 80,3, 86,22, 100,13 (βίου . . . τὸν θεὸν θεραπεύοντος), 106,17.
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 βιωτικός: πάντων ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν β. 12,18; β. ἐπιθυμίαν 34,13.
 Βλαχέρναι, district of Cple with church of the Theotokos: the Virgin will participate in a procession there 56,16; I. reaches B. with two nuns 56,24; 62,6; cf. ναός, σορός.
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 βρώσις: τῆς ἀπλήστου βρ. καὶ τῆς κατὰ κόρον οἰνοποσίας ἀπέχεσθαι 74,9; ἐν τῇ τῆς βρ. ἰσχυί τοῦ μήλου 84,5.
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 γενναῖος, of Arsenios 16,24.
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 δακρυρροέω 66,9.
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 δεύτερος: the Empress Theodora was in time but not in faith δ. to the Empress Irene 4,3, 10; ἐν πρώτοις . . . , δεύτερον δέ 36,20; τάξιν ἐπέχον δευτέραν 38,25; I. had no δ. χιτῶνα 48,14; δεύτερα δὲ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἡγησαμένη 90,7; δευτέραν διὰ ὁχλῶν δευτέρας καὶ συγγνώμης 98,16; cf. Σολομών.
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 διαβάλλω 88,12 (πρὸς βασιλέα).
 διάβασις: see ποιέω.
 διαβολή: τὸ τῆς δ. 88,15.
 διάβολος 42,30, 52,16, 54,14, 74,11.
 διαβρέχω with tears 56,26.
 διάβροχος with tears 64,28, 106,13.
 διαγράφω: τὸ ταύτης εἶδος δ. 96,19.
 διάδοχος: τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ τῆς ἀσεβείας δ. 2,13.
 διακαῶς: ἡράσθη δ. 70,27.
 διακονέομαι, of the keepers at St Anastasia's Church 68,13.
 διακονία, of an angel sent to I. 40,6.
 διακονικόν 40,17, 54,12, 94,1.
 διάκονος ὁ, ἡ: I. appointed *deaconess* of the Great Church of Cple 28,3; to a sanctified soul, God's angels are φύλακες καὶ διάκονοι 38,5.
 διακριτικόν (τῶν ὁσφραντῶν) 106,6.

διαλανθάνω, of I. 68,26.
 διαλέγομαι: ἤρξατο πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοιαῦτα διαλέγεσθαι 30,19; cf. ἄρχομαι.
 διαλογισμός 20,4, 78,2.
 διαμασάομαι: χανὼν διαμασήσασθαι, *bite*, of a demoniac 70,6.
 διαμάσησις 106,8.
 διανόημα: τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματων . . . καὶ διανοημάτων καθήπετο 40,20.
 διάνοια 46,2, 56,7; τῷ . . . τῆς δ. ὁμματι 20,2, or βλέμματι 68,8.
 διαπαίζω: διαπαίζων γὰρ τὰ θεῖα διαπαιχθήσεται 50,9, 10; in exorcism 72,15.
 διαπειλέομαι = ἀπειλέω 96,29.
 διαπιστέω = ἀπιστέω: μὴ διαπιστούσας 60,13.
 διασκοπέομαι: τόπον κατοικίας 12,19; ἐν ἑαυτῇ 68,25; w. inf. 88,22.
 διασύρω: μὴ διασύρειν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα 47,21.
 διαψιθυρίζω, pass. 88,21.
 διδάσκαλος: of I. 46,19, 94,18; 32,13 (see προκάθημαι); μὴ ὡς διδασκάλῳ ἄλλ' ὡς συμβούλῳ καὶ ἀδελφῇ 32,16; of Christ 100,17.
 διδάσκω, act. or pass., w. I. as subj. or agent 22,17, 32,11, 13, 38,13, 44,8, 86,26; I. strived to have τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ θεοῦ] χορηγομένην σύνεσιν διδάσκουσιν . . . καὶ . . . ὁδηγοῦσαν 32,9 (cf. 16,6).
 δίδωμι *passim*; εἶγε δῶν κύριος (abs.) 10,5; πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν ὄλῃν ἑαυτὴν . . . ἔδωκε 38,23.
 διήγησις, as ref. to VI 88,9.
 διηχέω: θρῆνος διηχεῖτο 108,21.
 δικαστήριον 112,7 (pl.).
 δίκη 42,4 (τὸ τῆς δ. ἄφυκτον), 98,7.
 διοίκησις of God 6,3.
 διομαλίζω, trans. 30,2.
 διορατικός: τῷ δ. τῆς ψυχῆς χαρίσματος προθεωρήσας, of St Ioannikios 10,9; subst., of Methodios 26,10.
 διορατικῶς εἶδέναι 38,19.
 *δισήμερεύω *last for two days*: στάσιν ποτὲ μὲν πανημέριον, ποτὲ δὲ παννύχιον ἢ καὶ νυχθημερεύουσιν πολλάκις καὶ δισήμερεύουσιν καὶ τὴν τρίτην πληροῦσαν 74,23.
 δισταγμός: ἐν δισταγμῷ καρδίας 36,14.
 διωγμός: ὁ κατὰ τῶν προσκυνητῶν τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ δ. 2,4.
 δόγμα: τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτου δ., of Iconoclasm 2,12.
 δοκέω: of visions 56,29 (impers. constr.), 60,1, 86,3, 90,10, 96,7; τὰ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντα 26,10.
 δοῦξα, of God, or showed to him 24,19, 64,26 etc.; of this world 18,23, 26, 29 (of I's former position), 34,9; awaiting in heaven 110,21; *al.*
 δοξολογέω 108,12.
 δοξολογία: μετὰ τὰς ὀρθρινὰς δ. 40,14, μετὰ τὴν ὀρθρινὴν δ. 80,23.
 δούλη, of I. as God's *servant* 10,11, 22,1, 30,13.
 δρακοντιαῖος 2,11; see ὀλκός.
 δρεπάνη: δρ. ἡκονημένην ὀξέως, of an angel of death 102,30.
 δρόμος: τρέχειν . . . τὸν δρ. τῆς ἀρετῆς 38,21.
 δύναμαι: μεγάλα παρὰ βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι 12,1.
 δύναιμι: of the heavenly powers 20,21, 25, 27, 31; of God or Christ 54,11, 72,19, 108,10; of demons or the Devil 20,13, 54,15, 72,17; *al.*

δυο: being one, the soul εἰς δ. μερισθῆναι οὐ δύναται 34,6; two nuns 56,23, 62,6, 80,24; the two Anastasias 58,27; leaden idols 60,29; cubits 76,16 (see κρέμαμαι); cypresses 76,17; 96,15 (see εἶς); apples 106,2.

δυσανάβατος 78,13.

δυσειδής 20,18; see ἀνήρ.

δυσμή: περί (τὰς) δ. ἡλίου 16,22, 44,14, 60,11; τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς ὄντος 18,11.

δυσωδία of I. burning 46,12.

δυσωπέω 6,14, 16,27, 36,22 etc.

δωρεά: βασιλικὰς . . . δ. which I. received 14,13; μισῶ δ. προξενουσαν μοι ζημίαν 48,4.

ἐβδομάς: δι' ὅλης τῆς ἐ. 54,22, 74,24; ὅλην ἡμερῶν ἐ. 84,3, sim. 104,28 (cf. Rydén, *Bemerkungen*, 90 f.); ἀπαξ τῆς ἐ. 76,4; πρώτης τῶν νηστειῶν ἐ. 4,17; ἡ μεγάλη ἐ. *Holy Week* 84,12 (cf. *πάσχα*).

ἐβδομος: τὴν ἐ. . . . σύνοδον 4,5.

ἐγγράφω: δαιμόνων . . . κλήσεις ἐγγεγραμμένας 62,2.

ἐγγράφως ἐκτιθέναι 4,8.

ἐγγύτης πρὸς θεόν 88,10, 104,16.

ἐγκαίνια of Chrysobalanton, celebrated on 26 July: τῶν ἐ. ἐτήσιος μνήμη τελεῖται 104,22, sim. 29, τῶν ἐ. τὴν ἑορτὴν 24.

ἐγκράτεια 42,13.

ἐγκρατεύομαι 34,7.

ἐγρήγορσις 14,26.

ἐγχείρησις, of I's asceticism 16,28.

ἐγχειρίδιον: ἐγχειρίδια σηρικῶν ἐξ ὑφασμάτων seen in tree-tops 78,9.

ἐδαφος, wet by I's tears 22,4, 30,8, 60,20, 64,28 (τὸ παρακείμενον ἐ.), 106,12 (τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐ.); cleaned and strewn with flowers 56,31; cf. δάπεδον.

*ἐδωδήμα: ἀσκητικοῖς ἐδωδήμασι 100,22 (or to be taken as heteroclitic dat. of ἐδωδήμα, τά?).

ἐθίζω: οὕτω γὰρ εἴθιστο 40,16.

ἔθος: ὥς ἐ. 26,15, 44,15, 102,4.

εἰ: εἰ δ' οὖν ἀλλά 90,14.

εἰδωλολατρεία 72,8 (pl.).

εἰδωλον: εἰδωλα μολίβδου, in magic 60,29.

εἰκάζομαι, w. acc.: τῶν ποταμῶν γὰρ εἰκάζετο ρεύματα 108,26.

εἰκῆ: εἰ. δέ ἐστι πᾶν τὸ μὴ διὰ θεὸν γινόμενον 36,6.

εἰκονίζω 92,28.

εἰκονμάχος: τοῦ τῶν εἰ. φρυάγματος 2,5; τῶν εἰ. ἀντιλογίαν 4,6; καταστροφῆς τῶν εἰ. 4,22; ἡ τῶν εἰ. τυραννίς 14,4; Methodios suffered much by them 26,5.

εἰκός 52,18; ὥς εἰ. 12,5, 28,19, 104,19.

εἰκοστός: ἑκτη καὶ εἰ. μηνὸς Ἰουλίου, the Consecration Day of Chrysobalanton 104,20.

εἰκόν: τῶν ἀχράντων εἰ. 2,15, 15,2; τῶν ἁγίων εἰ. 4,20, 23, 6,11; of Christ 2,3, 4,13; of St Basil 56,19; of I. 96,23; τοιοῦτον οἶον αἰ εἰ. γράφουσι 56,13; 2,18.

εἰμί: fut. ἔσεται 68,28; ptc., τὸ μὴ ὄν 42,28, 62,24 (cf. 12,7).

εἶπον: ὁπόσης ἂν εἶποις 40,3.

εἰρηνεύω: τοῦ εἰρηνεύειν τὴν χάριν belonged to I. 112,13.

εἰρήνη: τῆς . . . εἰ. ἐπώνυμος 112,13; cf. Speck's note on Theod. Stud., *Iamb* 118, p. 301.

Εἰρήνη (1), abbess of Chrysobalanton 2,1, 8,14 (leaves Cappadocia for a bride-show in Cple), 25 (visits Ioannikios), 10,11, 12,10, 11, 14,22, 18,1, 15, 22,24 (laments the death of her predecessor), 24,17, 26, 26,13 (ordained deaconess and abbess by Patriarch Methodios), 22, 28,4, 13, 38,12, 40,24, 44,12, 20 (attacked by a demon), 46,15, 52,7, 14 (healing of a possessed nun), 54,7, 56,8 (her vision at Blachernai), 14, 30, 58,16, 20, 29, 60,3, 22, 64,5, 68,16 (healing of the possessed vine-dresser Nicholas), 82,18 (receives fruit from Paradise), 88,26 (her kinsman accused of treason), 90,11, 21 (appearing in a vision of the Emperor), 92,19, 27 (her portrait painted), 31, 104,23 (her death predicted).

Εἰρήνη (2), Empress (780, 797—802): summoned the iconophile synod at Nicaea (787) 4,4.

εἰς: μία γὰρ οὐσα ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς δύο μερισθῆναι οὐ δύναται 34,5; δυοῖν ἕνεκα, ἐνὶ μὲν . . . , ἐτέρῳ δὲ . . . 96,16; τῇ μιᾷ θεότητι 116,26; μιᾷ τῶν νυκτῶν 20,7, 66,23; 18,24 (see *τριβώνιον*), 52,8.

εἰσέλευσις: τὴν . . . διὰ τοῦ πλοῦς εἰ. *voyage* 82,4.

εἰσοδος: πρὸ τῆς εἰ. τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου 80,14; τῆς εἰ. παραχωρῆσαι 80,25, 90,19; ταῖς εἰ. τοῦ πληθύς 108,25; cf. ποιέω.

εἴτις = ὅστις 4,11, 14,15, 16,18.

ἐκαστος: ἐκάστης ἡμέρας 12,19; καθ' ἐκάστην 42,15.

ἐκατόν: ἐ. ἔτη τριῶν δεόντων, of I's lifetime 110,22.

ἐκεῖθεν *after death* 28,8.

ἐκθαμβος 10,14.

ἐκκαθαίρω, pass., τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν 42,7.

ἐκκαλύπτω 78,7 (τὸ μυστήριον), 31.

ἐκκλησία 2,17 (τοῦ θεοῦ), 74,10, 98,28 (τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ὀρθοδόξου ἐ.); of Chrysobalanton 80,13, 30, 94,1, 20; St Sophia of Cple 28,4 (τῆς μεγάλης ἐ.); cf. ναός.

ἐκκλησιάζομαι 6,10.

ἐκμαγεῖον: ἐκμάττουσα . . . ἐκμαγεῖω 74,19.

ἐκπληξίς 10,19, 26,25, 96,27.

ἐκπτώσις *fall* (of the Devil and the demons) 74,2; cf. κοινωνός.

ἐκστασις: ὥς ἐν ἐκστάσει γεγонуῖα, during a vision 86,1.

ἐκστροφή 46,14; cf. ποιέω.

ἐκταράσσω, of λογισμοί 20,17.

ἐκτενής: ἐκτενοῦς . . . προσευχῆς 56,5.

ἐκτενῶς ἱκετεύειν 90,9.

ἐκτος 104,20; cf. εἰκοστός.

ἐκτύπωμα of I. (= εἰκόν) 96,20.

ἐκφέρω: τὴν ψῆφον ἐκφέροντας 104,3.

ἐκφρενής *mad* 52,23 (μανικῶ . . . ἔρωτι).

ἐκψύχω 102,21.

ἔλαιον for lamps in St Anastasia's Church 62,9 (*bis*), taken to anoint a demoniac 17.

ἐλεέω 22,1, 38,1 (ἐλεηθεῖσα . . . ἐλεεῖ), 44,3 (τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ συγχωρεῖν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον), etc.

ἐλεημοσύνη 36,28, 42,13.

ἐλεος 38,11.

ἔλλαμψις: θεία ἔ. 22,5; cf. ἐπισκιάζω.
 ἐμβριμάομαι, of I. rebuking a demon 70,7.
 ἐμπαίζω: τάχα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμπαίζεις μοι, a demon to I. 72,2; cf. Rydén, *Bemerkungen*, 81.
 ἐμφοβος καὶ ἔντρομος 78,29.
 ἐν τοσοῦτω 78,23, 80,16, 94,13.
 ἐναθλέω = ἀθλέω: ἔ. ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν . . . εἰκόνων τιμῆς 6,11.
 ἐναπογράφω, pass. 6,20.
 ἐναπορρίπτω, pass. 88,22.
 ἐναρμονίως 86,3.
 ἐνατος: περὶ τὴν ἔ. (v.l. ἐνν-) 106,10.
 ἐναυλος 94,17 (τοῖς ὡσίν).
 ἐνδιδύσκομαι 48,17.
 ἐνδον: τὰ ἔξω . . . , τὰ ἔ. 34,14.
 ἐνδότερος: τὰ τε ἔ. τὰ τε . . . ἔξωτερα, subst. 94,14.
 ἐνδυμα: μεταμφιέννυται . . . τὰ τῶν ἔ. 14,17; καταστολή τοῦ ἔ. 102,29.
 ἐνδύομαι: σάρκα θνητὴν καὶ φθαρτὴν . . . ἐνδύσασθαι, of Incarnation 64,21.
 ἐνεδρα of the Devil 74,11.
 ἐνθεος, of I. 22,13.
 ἐνιαυτός 18,5, 48,15, 16, 104,27 (I's last year).
 ἐννεός 96,27.
 ἐννοια 102,9.
 ἐνοικέω: τῷ ἐνοικοῦντι ἔν σοι πνεύματι 26,20; of a demon 70,30.
 ἐνταλμα: see ἐπιστροφή.
 ἐνταῦθα here = in this life 42,6.
 ἐντολή: τῶν ἔ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ 100,15.
 ἐντός: πάντα τὰ ἔ. ἡμῶν 34,11.
 ἔντρομος: see ἐμφοβος.
 ἐντρυφάω 34,20.
 ἐντυγχάνω read 16,20 (cf. G. J. M. Bartelink [ed.], *Callinicos, Vied'Hypatios* [Paris, 1971], 67, note 2); τῷ θεῷ intercede with 80,12.
 ἐνωσις with God through the Eucharist 64,25.
 ἐνωτίζομαι 24,12, 98,29, 112,19.
 ἐξ ἐκείνου thereafter 104,10.
 ἐξαγόρευσις 20,5.
 ἐξαίρετος: τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐξαίρετον 22,26.
 ἐξαστράπτω: ἄγγελος . . . τὸ εἶδος ἐξαστράπτων 40,2.
 ἐξέτασις of an evil spirit by I. 70,15.
 ἐξηχέω: θρῆνον πολὺν ἐξηχεῖν, of demons 44,26; κραυγαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηχοῦντο 62,25.
 ἐξομολόγησις καὶ μετάνοια 42,8.
 ἔξυπνος γεγονέναι, after a vision 60,5.
 ἔξω: see ἐνδον.
 ἐξώτερος: see ἐνδότερος.
 ἔοικα 44,19, 106,10; w. gen. for dat. 60,30; ὡς ἔοικεν 72,2.
 ἐορτάζω: τὴν τῶν . . . εἰκόνων ἀναστήλωσιν 4,21; μεγάλην ἐορτὴν 64,9; μνήμην 80,5, 106,9.
 ἐορτή 64,8; ἔ. δεσποτικά 76,7; St Basil's day 80,10; τῶν ἐγκαινίων 104,24.

ἐπαγρυπνέω = ἀγρυπνέω 30,26.
 ἐπαπολαύω = ἀπολαύω 54,2 (cf. 96,17).
 ἐπαρτάω: τῆς ἐπηρτημένης δίκης 98,7.
 ἐπηρεάζω, prob. of the Devil 112,21.
 ἐπήρεια of the Devil 20,6, 52,17, 108,8.
 ἐπιβουλεύομαι 50,7.
 ἐπιβουλή of the Devil 20,3, 22,2; against the Caesar Bardas 50,6; against the Emperor 92,12 (pl.).
 ἐπιβουλος 88,15.
 ἐπινυνώσκω: the Kingdom of heavens belongs to τῶν ἐπεγνωκότων τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσθένειαν 36,3.
 ἐπιγράφω: ἐπιγράφοντες . . . χάριτας 98,6.
 ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν 28,19, 98,14.
 ἐπιθυμία 34,13 (ἔ. καὶ προσπάθεια), 66,19 (τῆς μυσαρᾶς . . . ἔ.).
 ἐπικαίρως 92,31.
 ἐπικαταπέτομαι, of divine grace 28,20.
 ἐπιλύχνιος: περὶ ποῦ τοὺς ἔ. ὕμνους 102,19.
 ἐπιμέλομαι: τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελομένην 80,13.
 ἐπιμύσσω: ptc. aor. ἐπιμύξαν (v.l. ἀπο-) 46,3.
 ἐπιποθέω 12,17, 40,28.
 ἐπισκέπτομαι, of the Virgin at the Holy Soros 58,15; her icon there was called ἐπίσκεψις, see L. Rydén in *Anal Boll*, 94 (1976), 70, note 2.
 ἐπισκιάζω, of God's grace 16,6; 22,5 (θεία ἔλλαμψις).
 ἐπιστήθιος (μαθητής), of St John the Theologian 106,2.
 ἐπιστηρίζω 74,8 (νουθεσίαις).
 ἐπιστολή 98,4.
 ἐπιστροφή: πρὸς μετάνοιαν καὶ ἐπιστροφήν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνταλμάτων 42,3.
 ἐπιτελέω, of ritual 4,17, 24,21, 56,5, 70,2, 104,23, 112,1.
 ἐπιτιμάω, of I. before a demon 70,7, 74,4; w. acc. with inf. 82,11 (στῆναι τὸ πλοῖον).
 ἐπιτρέπω 62,13; cf. πρόνοια.
 ἐπιφαίνομαι: τὸν ἐπιφανέντα θεὸν προσάγων ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς, at Eucharist 64,18; ὄναρ ἐπιφανεῖσα, in a vision 68,7.
 ἐπιφανής: γυναῖκα τῶν ἔ. . . καὶ περιβλέπτων 8,6.
 ἐπιφάνεια of I. 98,10.
 ἐπτά: ἐν ἔ. . . καὶ πεντήκοντα . . . ἔτεσιν, of the first phase of Iconoclasm 4,24.
 ἐπώμιον 46,5.
 ἐπώνυμος 20,27, 112,13 (εἰρήνης).
 ἐραστής: τὸν ἀγαθῶν ψυχῶν ἔ. 12,6.
 ἐργάτις: γοητείας καὶ περιεργῶν ἔ. 20,10.
 ἔργον: see ἀγώνισμα, πάρεργον.
 ἐρύθημα 18,16.
 ἔρως, spiritual 16,23; corporeal 57,12, 15, 23 (μανικός), 66,18.
 ἐσπέρα: μέχρι [q.v.] τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔ. 18,11; πρὸς ἐσπέραν 18,26; τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν 54,23; πρὸ τῆς ἔ. 56,20; κατὰ τὴν ἔ. 84,14; ἔ. δὲ καταλαβούσης 56,27; μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἔ. 104,2.
 ἐστιάζομαι 80,12.
 ἐστίασις on St Basil's day 80,11.
 ἐσχατος: τὰς ἔ. ὑπηρεσίας 16,15.

ἐτάζω 72,15 (ὡς ἀνδράποδον).
 ἐτήσιος: ἐτήσιον . . . εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδόντες, in St Sophia at the Feast of Orthodoxy 4,22; μνήμη 104,22.
 ἔτος 4,25 (see ἐπτά), 18,19 (see τρεῖς); εἰς τὸ ἐπερχόμενον ἔ. 104,24; 110,22 (see ἑκατόν).
 εὖ γεγινώς 52,6.
 εὐαγγελίζομαι, of Christ 32,25.
 εὐγνωμοσύνη: see ἀγνωμοσύνη.
 Εὐήθεια, a maid (παιδίσκη) at Chrysobalanton 104,4.
 εὐθέως καὶ ἐκ προοιμίων 2,13; cf. the phrase εὐθὺς ἐκ προοιμίων.
 εὐθυβόλως 56,8.
 εὐκράτως: εὖ . . . ἄερος ἔχουσα, of Chrysobalanton 14,2.
 εὐκτήριον: the church at Chrysobalanton (dedicated to the archangel Gabriel) 20,27; chapel of St Theodore 110,17.
 εὐκτήριος: εὐκτήριον . . . τῆς μονῆς . . . οἶκον 24,24, sim. 60,12; cf. prec. entry.
 εὐλάβεια 86,8, 100,29.
 εὐλογέω 26,17, 28,2, 76,24, 82,21 etc.
 εὐλογία 10,16, 22, 26,16 etc.; *gift* 100,4 (cf. Lampe, s.v.).
 εὐλογος 32,12.
 εὐνοια: τὴν εὖ . . . τοῦ θεοῦ 32,8; τῇ εὖ. σου ταύτη τῇ ἀκαίρῳ 46,23.
 εὐνοῦχος 48,23; see Κύριλλος.
 εὐπρόσδεκτος: εὖ. εὐχαῖς 90,1.
 εὐρετής: ὁ τῆς κακίας εὖ., of the Devil 66,23.
 εὐσέβεια: ἦν . . . ὠδίνησεν εὖ. . . ἔτεκε, of the Empress Theodora 2,14; the Empress Irene had displayed the same εὖ. as she 4,4, 15, 26,6.
 εὐσεβής 8,7 (cf. γένος).
 εὐσεβῶς 98,30.
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 εὐχαριστία 4,22 (see ἐτήσιος), 6,1, 30,4, 38,6, 40,10, 44,13, 62,11, 64,7, 74,15, 80,12, 82,25, 100,10, 12, 112,2.
 εὐχαρίστως 14,25.
 εὐχή 6,19, 10,6, 16, 21, 16,28, 20,28, 30,27, 40,28, 46,9, 60,12, 82,22, 90,1, 100,7, 102,3, 11, 104,10.
 εὐώδης: εὐωδία . . . εὐωδεστέρα 48,8; μύρα τε καὶ θυμιάματα τῶν εὐωδεστάτων 110,9.
 εὐωδία: of burns on I's body 48,7; of apples from Paradise 82,28, 84,8, 106,8; of I's corpse 110,11, 19; of celestial μύρον 86,5.
 ἐφ' ὅσον: see ὅσος.
 ἐφάπτομαι: τῶν ἰχνῶν ὑμῶν ἔ. μή κτλ. 38,6; same phrase *VPetrAtr*, ed. Laurent 8,12—13.
 ἐφίπταμαι, of God's grace 16,12.
 ἐχθρός, the Devil 20,22 (in unidentified quotation); the demons are God's ἔ. 72,20.
 ἔχω: οὐκ ἔχω *be unable*, w. inf. 18,22, 26,25, 72,25, or w. ὅπως and fut. ind. 18,21, 82,9; ὡς δὲ ταύτην εἶχε δυσωποῦσαν 16,27, sim. 60,13; τό γε νῦν ἔχον 26,19, 80,4; cf. κακῶς ἔχω.
 ἔως: ἔ. πότε 44,22 (*bis*), 23 (*bis*), 86,13; ἔ. τῆς σήμερον 66,11; περιττῶν ἔ. καὶ οὐδαμινῶν προφάσεων 42,22 (cf. L.O. Sjöberg [ed.], *Stephanites und Ichneutes* [Uppsala, 1962], 155,9—10, ὁ δὲ γε ὑψίνους ἀνὴρ οὐ μέχρι τῶν μηδαμινῶν καὶ

εὐτελῶν ἴσταται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄνω ἐπιζητεῖ, κτλ.); see also Grammatical Index s.v. *temporal conjunctions*.

ζέσεις καρδίας of a woman in love 52,22.

ζέω, of I's clothes 48,6; θυμῷ 90,18.

ζοφώδης φυλακή 88,19.

ζυγός of Christ 14,21, 24, 52,16.

ζωγράφος, sent by the Emperor to portray I. 92,27, 96,18.

ζωή, αἰδῖος or αἰώνιος 32,24, 64,27, 106,23; σὺν Χριστῷ 102,16.

ἡγουμενία: τὴν τῆς ἡ. ἐπιτίθησι σφραγίδα (i.e., a threefold sign of the Cross) 28,6.

ἡγουμένη, of I. 2,2, 82,18, 90,21; cf. προεστῶσα.

ἡδονή: τὸ τῆς ἡ. . . . μαλακόν 20,1; 72,8 (see δέλεαρ).

ἡδύπνοος: ἀνθεσιν ἡ., in a vision 56,32; ἡ. ὀσμαῖς, of apples from Paradise 84,11.

ἡδύς: the Devil reminds I. of τῆς τῶν ἡδέων ἀφθονίας 20,1.

ἡλιος: ἀστράπτω ὡς ἡ., of angels in a vision 58,12 (cf. 108,17); see also ἀνατέλλω, δυσμή, λαμπηδών.

ἡμέρα: τῶν ἱλαστηρίων . . . ἡ. 6,25; ὅλας νύκτας καὶ ὅλας ἡ. 22,4, sim. 18,8;

καθ' ἡμέραν 40,8, 84,10; διὰ τῆς ἡ. 54,25; διὰ πλειόνων ἡ. 76,4; παρ' ὅλην τὴν

ἡ. 56,25; μεθ' ἡμέρας 86,19; ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 88,23; εἰς ὅλας ἡ. τεσσαράκοντα 84,4;

εὐφροσύνης ἡ. καὶ χαρμονῆς 100,19; *al.*; cf. ἑβδομάς, ἑκαστος, παρασκευή.

ἡμίονος 94,15.

ἡνίοχος, of Michael III 50,29.

ἡσύχιος καὶ θεάρεστος βίος 12,20.

θάλαμος: God was to bring I. εἰς τὸν οἶκεῖον θ. 12,10.

θάλασσα 88,21.

θαλασσοπόρος 82,3.

θάλλω, of I's face 16,2.

θάνατος: τὸ κοινὸν χρέος. . . , τὸν θ. 104,15.

θαῦμα 16,13, 18,13, 26,9 (cf. αὐτουργός), etc.; ἦν ἰδεῖν θ. τῷ θαύματι παρεπόμενον 62,20; διὰ θαύματος ποιούμενος 96,28.

θαυμάζω: at a vision 60,6; τίς μὴ θαυμάσει; 90,23; *al.*

θαυμάσιος, of I. 12,11, 52,7 (θαυμασιωτάτη γυναικῶν); τὰ θ. 64,6, 78,25, 80,4, 88,9 (ἐν ἔτι τῶν θ.).

θαυμαστός, of I. 8,14.

θαυματοργέω, of God 64,3.

θαυματοργία 68,22.

θέα 78,1.

θέαμα 46,15 (cf. φρικτός), 78,22.

θεάρεστος 12,20 (cf. ἡσύχιος), 22,19 (μεταμεῖναι τὸν βίον πρὸς τὸ θ.).

θεαρέστως: καλῶς γε φρονεῖν καὶ θ. 26,23.

θεῖος, *passim*; ὁσμὴ 110,12, δύναμις 112,16; cf. γραφή, πρόνοια, ὕμνος, χάρις, etc.

θεῖος ὁ: τῷ πρὸς μητρός θ., the Caesar Bardas, *uncle* of Michael III 8,19.

θέλημα: ἀντιπίπτουσαι τῷ θ. τούτων [sc. τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν] καὶ ἀγαπῶσαι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον θ. 106,25.

θελητός: ὡς αὐτῇ θελητόν 8,4.

Θεοδώρα, Empress, wife of Theophilos, mother of Michael III: restored the venera-

tion of icons (843) 2,13; see also βασιλῖς, θεοφιλῖς.
 Θεόδωρος, St Theodore: I. was interred in his chapel 110,17.
 θεοειδής 82,6; see γέρων.
 θεόθεν 26,2.
 θεομήτωρ 60,8.
 θεόπνευστος: θ. ῥήματα 16,19, 96,16.
 θεός, *passim*; ὄντως ὁ θ. ἐν σοὶ ἐστὶν 26,26; see also ἐπιφαίνομαι, Ἰησοῦς, μήτηρ, φύσις.
 θεοσεβής 50,13; cf. βασιλικός.
 θεοτερπής: τὴν θ. τῶν εἰκόνων ἀνατύπωσιν 2,17.
 θεότης 64,26, 104,26 (cf. θρόνος), 112,27.
 θεοτόκος 20,29, 56,25, 60,27; cf. μήτηρ.
 θεοφεγγής: θ. βλέμμα 68,8.
 θεοφιλής: τῆς θ. γυναικός, of the Empress Theodora, w. pun on Θεόφιλος 6,4.
 Θεόφιλος, the last iconoclastic emperor (829—842): τοῦ φιλοχρύσου καὶ μισοχρίστου Θ. 2,9; his name written in a list of heretics 6,23, from which it is miraculously wiped out 28.
 θεοφόρος 26,22, 28,20 (Methodios).
 θεράπεινα, of I. as servant of God or Christ 40,5, 86,17, 98,5.
 θεραπαίνις 14,13 (I's servants), 16,15 (see βασιλῖς).
 θεραπεία, in exorcism 58,32, 68,19, 27.
 θεραπεύω: of exorcism 64,5; τὸν θεόν 98,30, 100,14; *al.*
 θεράπων, of the eunuch Cyril 50,1.
 θεσμός 112,21 (see ἀγάπη).
 θορυβέω, of λογισμοί 20,17.
 θόρυβος: ταραχῆς καὶ θορύβων 12,21; ἀπειλᾶς . . . καὶ θορύβους ἔπεμψας 92,11.
 θρασέως, of a demon's behaviour 20,9.
 θρῆνος ὁ, in mourning 22,24, 108,19 (θρ. καὶ κλαυθμός καὶ ὀδυρμός); of demons 44,26.
 θρηνηδένω 24,5.
 θριαμβεύω 78,28.
 θρίξ, to tie a magic package 60,31; cf. καταδεσμέω.
 θρόνος: of the patriarch 28,1; τῷ θρ. παραστᾶσα τῆς θεότητος 104,25.
 θροῦς: θρ. διηγείρετο on I's death 108,19.
 θρυαλλίς 46,3; for the sense, cf. *MirEugen*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 107,12 (and 108,5), 110,6, where θρυαλλίδιον and θρυαλλίς clearly = φωταγωγὸς λυχνία, 'lamp'; also *TrAthanas*, ed. Talbot, passages quoted in Index, s.v., p. 155.
 θυγάτηρ: πνευματικαὶ or κατὰ πνεῦμα θυγατέρες 22,23, 108,20; I. as κατὰ πνεῦμα θ. of the Virgin 58,21; 24,17 (see φῶς); of Senators 108,27.
 θυμίαμα: βαλὼν θ. 28,2 (cf. Rydén, *Symeon Salos*, Index, s.vv. θ. and λαμπρόν); κηρὸς καὶ θυμιάματα 62,5; θυμιαμάτων καὶ μύρων 84,9, *sim.* 110,9.
 θυμιατήριον 28,2.
 θυμιάω, of angels in a vision 58,1.
 θύρα: in the Convent 30,6, 46,14, 90,8, 94,25 (διὰ τῆς πλαγίας θ., of the church), 108,25 (τὰ πρὸς τὴν θ.); in the Palace 90,26, 92,4.
 θυρωρός of the Convent 54,6, 68,7, 94,11.
 θυσιαστήριον 6,24, 80,14, 86,12; ἡ τοῦ (θείου) θ. τράπεζα 80,7, 86,5.
 θύω: τὸν ἐπιφανέντα θεὸν . . . τῇ ἱερᾷ τεθυμένον τραπέζῃ 64,19.

ἰάομαι, of exorcism 60,4, 68,26, 70,1, 74,12.
 ἱάσις, of exorcism 56,18, 68,14, 15, 28.
 ἱατρός: τῷ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἰ. 48,19.
 Ἰγνάτιος, patriarch (847—858; 867—877): receives three apples of Paradise 82,16.
 ἰδιοποιέομαι: εἰς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν . . . ἰ., of demons 72,30.
 Ἰερεμίας, the prophet 50,20.
 ἱερεύς, serving at Chrysobalanton 62,11, 64,18, 70,5, 80,6, 9, 16.
 ἱερόμαρτυς, of Patriarch Methodios *Akol.* 14,1.
 ἱερός, of St Basil 58,31; of I's soul 108,18, and corpse 110,6; cf. μυσταγωγία, σχῆμα, τράπεζα.
 ἱεουργία: κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς (θείας) ἰ. 64,18, 66,7.
 Ἰησοῦς 24,18, 32,26, 54,11, 72,12, 84,22, *Akol.* 41,4; Ἰ. Χριστός 20,24, 70,16, 108,4; ὁ γὰρ Ἰ. κἂν ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα ποιήσας θεός 72,20.
 ἱκανός: ἐφ' ἱκανόν 22,7.
 ἱκεσία 38,24, 56,27.
 ἱκετεία 6,18.
 ἱκετηρία: δεήσεις καὶ ἱκετηρίας 6,15.
 ἱλαστήριος 6,25; cf. ἡμέρα.
 ἱλεως: τὸν θεὸν ἱλεῶν . . . ποιήσων 98,11.
 ἱλλούστριος: one of I's relatives, τῇ τῶν ἰ. ἀξία τετιμημένον 88,13.
 ἱμάτιον: ἱματίοις ἀνθοβαφείσι καὶ πολυτίμοις κοσμεῖσθαι 34,15; I. dons a new dress once a year 48,11, 17; τοῖς ἰ. . . ἀνιμωμένη τὴν ὑγρότητα 66,1.
 Ἰουδαῖοι: τοὺς ἀνελόντας [*sc.* τὸν Χριστόν] Ἰουδαίους 72,22.
 Ἰούλιος (μὴν) 104,20, 27.
 ἱππεύς 94,4.
 ἱπποδρομία 50,29.
 ἱππος in an imperial retinue 94,14.
 ἴση: εἰς ἔρωτα τῆς Ἰσης τῷ γενναίῳ . . . ἐλθοῦσα 16,24 (incomplete?).
 Ἰωάννης, the Evangelist 58,18, *Akol.* 21,3; cf. γέρων, μαθητής.
 Ἰωαννίκιος, Saint, † 846, called ὁ μακάριος (thus 22,20) or ὁ μέγας Ἰ.: I. visits him on Mount Olympos 10,1; his predictions about I. 12,24, 22,20, 28,14, *Akol.* 13,2.

καθαίρω: τῷ κεκαθαρμένῳ τῆς διανοίας ὀμματι 20,2; of διάνοια itself 56,6; τὸ ἔδαφος 56,31.
 καθαρίζω: κεκαθαρισμένη πάσης ὕλικης προσπαθείας 16,10.
 καθαρότης 28,5.
 καθέδρα 68,9.
 καθηγημὼν ἢ, I's predecessor 24,3.
 καθηγητής, of Christ 96,1.
 καθηγουμένη, I's predecessor 16,4, 20,5 (ὁδηγῶ καὶ κ.), 22,22.
 καθημερινός: καθημερινὰς . . . δεήσεις 68,30.
 καθολικός 98,27 (see ἐκκλησία).
 καθοράω: a pure soul θεὸν καθορᾷ καθορωμένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 36,24.
 καῖσαρ, the Caesar Bardas 8,20, 50,2, 4; ὁ μὲν γὰρ κ. ἀνῆρέθη παρὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ 50,27; cf. Βάρδας.
 καίω: ἔως πότε καίεις ἡμᾶς; a demon to I. 44,23.

κακοπάθεια 32,7.
κακοῦργος 64,29.
κακῶς ἔχω, of demoniacs 56,22, 60,30, 62,7.
καλλιεργέω: τὸν μισθοῦ τὸν τῆς μονῆς ἀμπελῶνα καλλιεργοῦντα 66,16.
καλλίμαρτυς, of St Anastasia 60,21.
καλύπτω 66,6, 80,4 (σιωπῇ), 82,26, 108,18 (med., τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς); *al.*
καλῶς ἦλθε 10,11; cf. Rydén, *Bemerkungen*, 49 f.
κάναβις: μέλιτι μεμιγμένου σπέρματος κανάβews, as ascetic food 76,3.
Καππαδόκαι: I's parents sent her ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν 8,16; ἐπὶ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν 52,21.
Καππαδοκία 52,6 (cf. γένος); τὴν ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίαν τραπέσθαι 60,2 (cf. Βασίλειος [1]).
καρτερέω *await* 68,14.
κατά: τὰς καθ'ἑαυτὴν παρθένους 8,9; τὰ κ. τὸν μέγαν Ἰωαννίκιον 8,25; τὰ κατ'αὐτὴν and sim. 26,24, 28,14, 42,1, 68,27, 104,6; τὰ κ. νόμον ταφῆς 24,21; τῆς καθ'ἡμᾶς νῆσου 82,5 (cf. A. Cameron, 'Cyril of Scythopolis, V. Sabae 53; a note on κατά in late Greek', *Glotta*, 56 [1978], 87—94).
καταβάλλω, refl., in prostration 26,26.
καταγεραίρω, obj. the dead I. 110,20.
καταδεσμεύω, pass., of a demoniac 68,14.
καταδεσμέω: εἶδωλα . . . θριξὶ καὶ μίτοις καταδεδεσμημένα 60,32.
καταδίκη: τῆς ἀποκειμένης αἰώνιου . . . κ. 6,9; τῆς κ. ἀπολύσαι can Christ alone 106,30.
*καταζωγρέω, of the Devil 42,12.
καταλαμβάνω *arrive at* 10,24, 26,14, 30,3 etc.
καταλλάττομαι: 'μόνοις ὑμῖν κατηλλάγη θεός, whereas we, the demons, are his enemies' 72,19, 'therefore we strive τοὺς καταλλαγέοντας ἀφιστᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ' 28; ἀλλήλοις καταλλάττεσθαι, as work of the dead I. 112,17.
κατάλογος: κ. τῶν αἵρετικῶν 6,28; κ. τῶν . . . μοναζουσῶν 52,8.
καταλύτης: τῆς αἵρέσεως κ. (Methodios) 26,8.
κατάνυξις 16,1, 36,1, 64,10, 102,16.
κατανύσσω, pass. 36,28.
καταπλήσσω: an angel τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ σχήματος οὐ κατέπληξεν 40,4.
καταρραίνω: the floor with tears 30,8, 60,20, 106,13; the floor with flowers, in a vision 56,32.
καταρράσσω, of a demon 74,6.
καταρρήσσω: εἰς γῆν κατερράγη, of a demoniac 68,2.
καταστέλλω: κατεσταλμένους ἐν φόβῳ τινὶ καὶ μεγάλῳ σεβάσματι 58,11 (remembrance of Greg. Naz.).
καταστοχάζομαι: τὰ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντα . . . κ. 26,11.
καταστροφή τῶν εἰκονομάχων 4,21.
κατατεφρώ = τεφρώ 62,24.
κατατήκω: ὁ πονηρὸς ὑπέκαie τοῦτον καὶ κατέτηκε τῷ . . . ἔρωτι 52,11; cf. the remarks by J. Blomqvist in *Classica et mediaevalia*, 36 (1985), 91 ff.
κατατυγχάνω, w. dat. 78,25.
καταφρονέω: πάντων καταφρονήσασα διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν κύριον φίλτρον 52,12.
καταφρόνησις: κ. τοῦ θεοῦ 42,23; τὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ. 100,15.
καταχρωννύω, pass., of the air *tinged* by fragrance 84,11.

*κατευοδιάζω *make fragrant* 58,1 (τὸν ἀέρα).
κατοικητήριον τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος 36,24.
κατονειδίζω 56,14.
κατόρθωμα: τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας κ. 6,7; μέρος τῶν αὐτῆς κ. 48,14.
κατόρθωσις: εἰς κατόρθωσιν ἦλθε τοῦ πράγματος 18,7.
κάτω: τὰ κ. 86,15; cf. ἄνω.
κατώδυνος 102,26.
κεῖμαι, in prostration 26,16.
κεῖρω, med.: τὴν κόμην 14,15, 52,8.
κέλλη 46,11,76,14.
κελλίον of the abbess 30,5, 46,13; in gen. 56,4, 66,25, 78,4.
κενὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ 72,29.
κενός: δάκρυα . . . κενούντες τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 90,1; the constr. seems to be influenced by phrases w. (ἀπο)στάζω (see δάκρυ).
κεφαλή: κατὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ . . . τοῦτο κ. . . περιτρέψει [sc. the might of Jesus] 54,11; τὴν κ. μου, excl. 102,20; of tree-tops 76,20, 22, 78,11 (cf. κορυφή).
κηδεῖα of I. 110,6.
κηδεμών, of God 30,4, 88,7 (τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν).
κηδεύω 24,22.
κηρός 60,27; lit in the Church of St Anastasia 62,5, 11, 110,7 (cf. λαμπάς).
κιθάρα in a vision 86,2.
κίνημα of the soul 40,19; cf. διανόημα.
κίων 68,25.
κλαυθμός in mourning 108,20.
κλείς of the Emperor's chamber 92,4 (pl. κλεῖς).
κλέπτω 64,29.
κληρονόμος: τῆς βασιλείας . . . κλ., of Michael III 8,6; κλ. καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων 38,2.
κληρὸς *clerus* of the Church of St Anastasia 62,13; cf. μερίς.
κλήσις: δαμόνων . . . κλήσεις 62,2.
κλίνη 22,28.
κλινίδιον 68,1.
κνίσσα 46,10, 13.
κοινωνία: σύναξις καὶ κ. in church 70,26; 8,20, 54,2, 72,29; cf. κενός.
κοινωνός: κοινωνοὺς . . . τῆς ἐκπτώσεως καὶ τῶν μελλουσῶν κολάσεων 74,1.
κοιτῶν of I. 74,20, 80,11; of the Emperor 90,26, 30, 92,6, 98,18 (οἱ τοῦ κοιτῶνος).
κόλασις, of the eternal punishments 42,9, 74,2 (cf. κοινωνός).
κολαστήριον = κόλασις 28,8.
κόμη 14,15, 52,8; cf. κεῖρω.
κοπρία 80,15.
κόρη, of a nun 52,22.
κόρος: κόρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν στάσεως as insult of I. by a demon 70,21; *al.*
κορυφή, of tree-tops 76,23, 78,7; cf. κεφαλή.
κοσμῶ 26,7 (cf. στίγμα), 34,16 (refl.).
κοσμικός 14,16, 22,18.
κόσμιον, pl. 14,11.
κόσμος: the Church regained τὸν ἑαυτῆς . . . κ., i.e. the icons 2,17; *this world* 32,28 (τὰ τοῦ κ. τερπνά), 34,14; κατὰ κόσμον 34,19, 88,14; *al.*; πρὸς ἕτερον ἄπειμι κ. 106,18.